Eadweard Muybridge and the Photographic Panorama of San Francisco, 1850–1880

3 0510 1213128 R

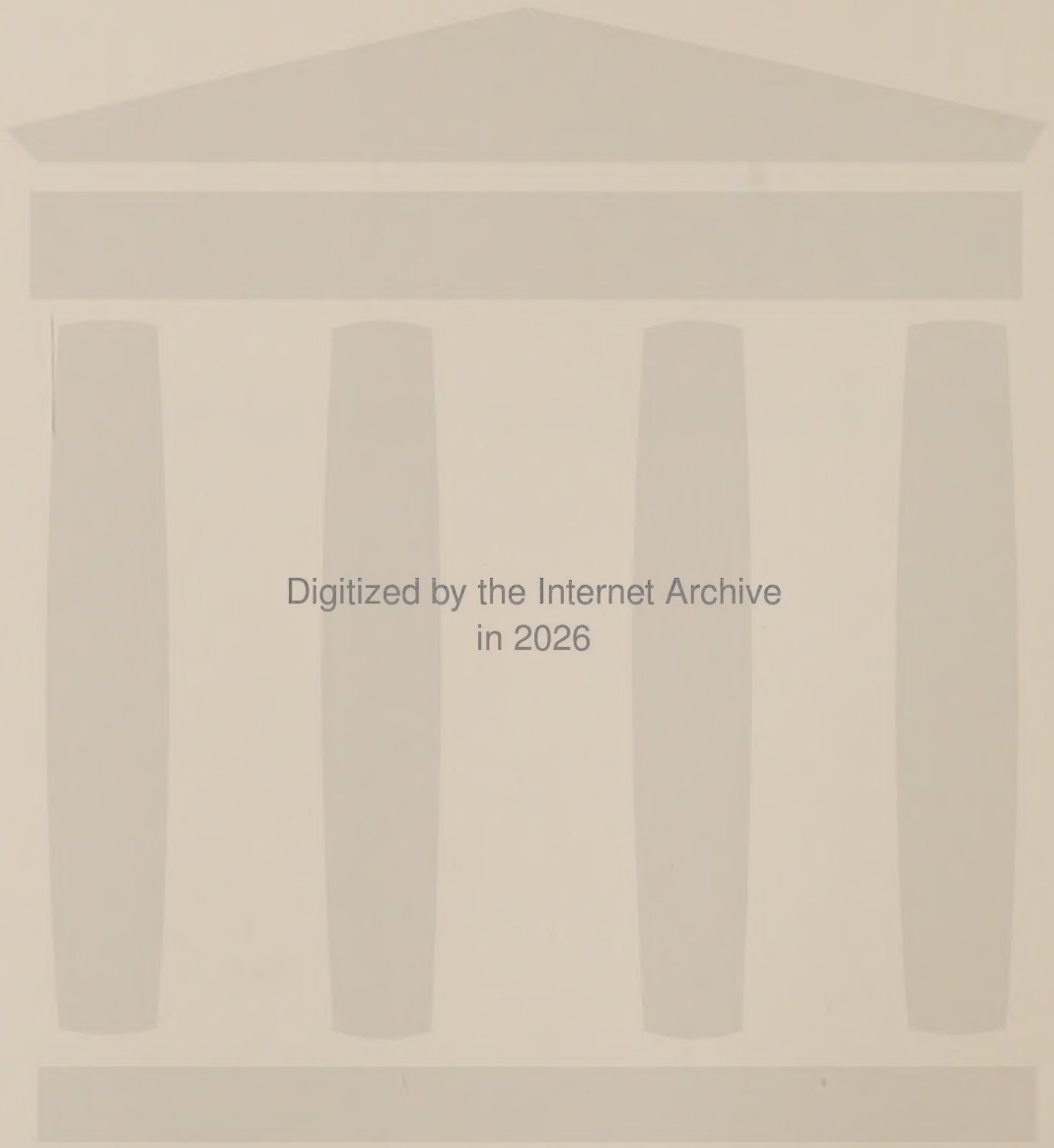
NEW BOOK

DATE DUE

SEP 23 1993	

Walter Clinton Jackson Library
University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Greensboro, North Carolina 27412-5201

Eadweard Muybridge and the Photographic Panorama of San Francisco, 1850–1880


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/eadweard-muybridge-and-the-photographic-panorama-of-san_1850-1880

DAVID HARRIS, WITH ERIC SANDWEISS

F
869
S343H
1993

Eadweard Muybridge and the Photographic Panorama of San Francisco, 1850–1880

Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

Distributed by The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England

This publication accompanies the exhibition *Eadweard Muybridge and the Photographic Panorama of San Francisco, 1850–1880* organized by the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) and curated by David Harris, Associate Curator of the Photographs Collection, CCA. The exhibition will be shown at the CCA, in Montréal, from 31 March to 25 July 1993, then circulated to the Friends of Photography, Ansel Adams Center, in San Francisco from 1 September to 24 October 1993, and to the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

© Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, 1993

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording, or information storage or retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher.

CANADIAN CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION DATA

Harris, David, 1950–
Eadweard Muybridge and the photographic panorama of San Francisco, 1850-80

Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, Quebec.
Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-920785-37-9 (bound) ISBN 0-920785-39-5 (pbk)

1. Muybridge, Eadweard, 1830–1904–Exhibitions. 2. San Francisco (Calif.)–Pictorial works–Exhibitions. 3. Panoramas–California–San Francisco–Exhibitions. 4. Photography, Panoramic–Exhibitions. 5. City planning–California–San Francisco–History–Exhibitions. I. Sandweiss, Eric. II. Muybridge, Eadweard, 1830–1904. III. Canadian Centre for Architecture. IV. Title.
F869.S343H37 1993 917.94'61'00222 C93-096115-3

Legal deposits
Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, 1993
National Library of Canada, 1993

Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture
ISBN 0-920785-37-9 (hard cover) ISBN 0-920785-39-5 (soft cover)

The MIT Press
ISBN 0-262-08220-9 (hard cover) ISBN 0-262-58121-3 (soft cover)

Publié en français sous le titre *Eadweard Muybridge et le panorama photographique de San Francisco, 1850–1880*
ISBN 0-920785-41-7 (relié) ISBN 0-920785-43-3 (broché)

CREDITS
Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society: cat. nos 20.1, 20.5; fig. 26. The Art Institute of Chicago: cat. nos 16, 17. Courtesy, The Bancroft Library/Dan Johnston, photographer: cat. nos 12, 13, 15, 20.3, 20.4, 20.6, 20.7, 20.9, 20.10, 21.1–4; figs 3, 4, 15, 28, 29. The California Historical Society: cat. nos 19.1–5, 30; figs 7, 9, 10, 16, 24, 25, 33, 36. Courtesy of California Section, California State Library/Nikki Pahl, Sacramento, photographer: cat. nos 1, 2, 4, 5, 18.2, 18.4, 26, 27; figs 13, 19, 30, 31. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California: fig. 21. Collection of the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House: cat. nos 9.1–5; fig. 6. Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California: cat. nos 25.1, 25.4–7; figs 32, 34, 35. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.: cat. nos 10, 22, 32; fig. 40. National Archives, Washington, D.C.: cat. no. 3. Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society, N.Y.C.: cat. nos 6, 8. Robert N. Dennis Collection of Stereoscopic Views. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations/Robert D. Rubic, NYC, photographer: cat. nos 18.1, 18.9, 20.8; fig. 1. Collection of the Oakland Museum/M. Lee Fatheree, photographer: cat. no. 11. San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library: cat. nos 24.1–4. Secretary of State, California State Archives, Roseville, California: fig. 5. Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries: cat. nos 25.2, 25.3; fig. 18.

CCA Photographic Services: cat. nos 7, 14.1–5, 18.3, 18.5–8, 18.10, 20.2, 23, 28, 29, 31, 33–38; figs 5, 8, 11, 12, 17, 21–23, 27, 37–39.

Every reasonable attempt has been made to identify owners of copyright. Errors or omissions will be corrected in subsequent reprints.

Distributed by the MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England.

COVER
Eadweard Muybridge, *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill*, plates 5 to 8 of a 13-part panorama (1878). Albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on leaves of heavy board, 57.3 x 39.9 cm (each image), 68.0 x 50.2 cm (each mount). CCA PH1990:0081:005–008

THIS BOOK WAS PRINTED AND BOUND IN THE UNITED STATES.

List of Lenders

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts
The Art Institute of Chicago
Joseph A. Baird, Jr.
The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California
Marilyn Blaisdell
The California Historical Society, San Francisco, California
The California State Library, Sacramento, California
James P. Crain
International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester, New York
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California
The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
The National Archives, Washington, D.C.
The New-York Historical Society, New York City
The New York Public Library, New York City
The Oakland Museum
Peter E. Palmquist
The San Francisco Public Library
The Stanford University Libraries
John Weiler

The Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) is a study centre and a museum devoted to the art of architecture and its history. It is founded on the conviction that architecture, as part of the social and natural environment, is a public concern. The CCA's activities are international in scope and are based on a unique collection of works of art and documentation from all areas – architecture, urban planning, and landscape design – that are part of the built environment.

CCA BOARD OF TRUSTEES: Phyllis Lambert, chair
Pierre Brunet
Serge Joyal
Irving Lavin
Philip O'Brien
Daniel Robbins
Gene Summers
Pierre-André Themens

Contents

Foreword 11

Acknowledgements 13

Claiming the Urban Landscape: The Improbable Rise of an Inevitable City
ERIC SANDWEISS 15

Eadweard Muybridge and the Photographic Panorama of San Francisco, 1850–1880
DAVID HARRIS 36

Catalogue
DAVID HARRIS AND ERIC SANDWEISS 55

Bibliography 131

List of Entries in the Catalogue 135

Foreword

THIS EXHIBITION AND ITS PUBLICATION HAVE TWO PURPOSES. The first is to locate one of the major works of art in the Canadian Centre for Architecture's collection – Eadweard Muybridge's 1878 mammoth-plate panorama of San Francisco – in its many contexts: as an astonishing achievement in the history of the medium; as a major step in the long history of view making; and as a powerful representative of the spirit and era of civic boosterism and an indicator of the nature and fashions of private patronage in America's "Gilded Age."

The second is to invite attention to a sequence of images presenting a compressed view of the formation of a city. This subject – the patterns and accidents that bring about an urban form – is of primary importance to the history of architecture. The CCA has explored the interrelationship over an entire century of land, land use, and building in the making of a town in *Opening the Gates of Eighteenth-Century Montréal*, examining many forms of documentation. In the case of San Francisco, a concentration upon thirty years of a single mode of representation – photographic panoramas – allows us a particular and very direct view of the phenomenon of urbanization. San Francisco grew from settlement to metropolis from 1850 to 1880, a period coincident with the early years of the development of photography. Through the mass of images made at the time, we can visualize the emergence of a city and reflect on its very nature, both as an architectural form and as a social idea.

Historically, the published city-view dates back at least to Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* (the *Nuremberg Chronicle*) of 1493, and was the subject of a continuing tradition exemplified by such works as Georg Braun and Franz Hogenburg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572–1618) and Mathew Merian's *Die Topographien* (1642–88). Only in the eighteenth century did the panoramic view, based on meticulous observation, become common, arising both as a means of representing such historical cities as Rome, Jerusalem, and Constantinople for the pilgrim and as a vehicle for publicizing such new, planned towns as St. Petersburg and Karlsruhe. In the nineteenth century, a succession of illusionistic devices – the painted panorama, the diorama, the cosmorama – presented the city as a visual spectacle. It was at this point in the tradition of city-views that photography appeared in 1839.

It was not surprising, therefore, for early photographers such as Antoine Claudet in London, Frederich von Martens in Paris, and Achille Morelli and Lorenzo Suscipj in Rome to produce daguerreotype panoramas of these cities in the early 1840s. From that time to the present, photographic panoramas have been produced for a wide variety of purposes: as a tool for civic promotion and tourism; as documentation of engineering projects; and as an adjunct to archaeological expeditions, architectural surveys, and military campaigns. In addition to these functional purposes, in the last twenty years the panoramic form has been reinvestigated as a means of artistic expression.

These earlier panoramas furnish architectural and urban historians with significant cultural documents. As records of the evolution of urban form, they describe and situate buildings and the strategies of settlement in relation to existing topography. Three panoramas by Pascal Sebah – to take one instance from the CCA's Photographs Collection – of Constantinople and the Bosphorus were all made from the Tower of Galata: seen in succession, they

record the gradual pattern of urban change over a twenty-year period from the late 1860s through the 1880s. The panoramas of San Francisco in this same time frame show a more apocalyptic evolution, of buildings appearing where none had been. An even more astonishing comparison is that between Eadweard Muybridge's 1878 panorama and Mark Klett's panorama of San Francisco in 1990: both were made from the same vantage point, but being separated by slightly more than one hundred years and the earthquake and fires of 1906, they show entirely different cities.

Photographic panoramas, considered both as a source of documentation and as a compelling form of representation underlie this exhibition and its publication. The two essays derive from a reading of the panoramas from different points of view. As an urban historian, Eric Sandweiss investigates how the patterns of Spanish colonial settlement mixed with typically American planning ideas of the time and the influence of rampant speculation to form the city's character. The photographic historian David Harris, who also curated the exhibition upon which this publication is based, examines the photographer's role in creating and imposing an aesthetic order out of the apparent haphazardness of the city that resulted. In the catalogue, both writers have collaborated in describing how each object both documented and represented San Francisco during this period.

PHYLLIS LAMBERT
Director, Canadian Centre for Architecture

Acknowledgements

THE REALIZATION OF THIS PUBLICATION AND THE EXHIBITION it accompanies would have been inconceivable without the sympathetic and generous support of many individuals and institutions.

At the initial stages of my research and throughout the development of this project, James P. Crain; Lawrence Dinnean, the Bancroft Library, University of California; Gary F. Kurutz, the California State Library; and Peter E. Palmquist have been unfailingly generous in sharing their extensive knowledge of San Francisco and of California photography.

Eric Sandweiss, Director of the Research Center, Missouri Historical Society, was instrumental in refining my original ideas and proved an ideal collaborator in writing the catalogue entries. In his own essay, Eric would like to acknowledge the Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, Columbia University, as well as Annmarie Adams, Michael Corbett, and Amy Sergenian.

In facilitating my own research in their respective institutions and in answering my innumerable requests for information, I am grateful to Georgia B. Barnhill, American Antiquarian Society; William M. Roberts, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Robert MacKimmie, California Historical Society; Kathy Corriea, California State Library; Verna Curtis and Harry Katz, Library of Congress; Dale L. Neighbors, New-York Historical Society; Julia Van Haften and Tony Troncale, New York Public Library; Therese Heyman, the Oakland Museum; Weston Naef, Gordon Baldwin, and Joan Dooley, the J. Paul Getty Museum; Faun McInnis, Patricia Akre, and Stan Carroll, San Francisco Public Library; Stanleigh Bry, Society of California Pioneers; Linda Long, Stanford University Library; and Carol Osborne, Stanford University Museum of Art. I would also like to thank the following individuals, who have contributed to this project in various ways: Dr. Joseph Baird, Jr., Marilyn Blaisdell, Rodger C. Birt, Henry H. Clifford, Paul de Fremery, Douglas Haller, Bruce Johnson, Joanne Lukitsh, Dr. Joseph Monsen, Anita Mozley, Sandra Phillips, Rod Slemmons, and Stephen Tobriner.

Space does not permit me to individually and adequately thank Phyllis Lambert, Director, and all my colleagues at the CCA for their advice, immense hard work, and collaboration in the realization of both this publication and the exhibition. I must, however, acknowledge those who took on responsibilities beyond the scope of their normal duties: Rosemary Haddad, the CCA's associate librarian, who helped to catalogue the various books and albums, and Michelle Degagné, who conscientiously and patiently typed the many drafts of the manuscript.

Lastly, for her valued advice and encouragement far beyond curatorial matters, I would like to thank Linda Eerme.

DAVID HARRIS
Associate Curator, Photographs Collection, Canadian Centre for Architecture

Claiming the Urban Landscape: The Improbable Rise of an Inevitable City

ERIC SANDWEISS

PICTURING THE CITY

A portion of the country, however, most interesting in its natural features, has been, perhaps, but too little dwelt upon; it is that embracing the extensive Bay of San Francisco.... It is the grand region for colonization; and if peopled by our industrious backwoodsmen, who are gradually emigrating from the Western States, it must hold, in a very few years, a conspicuous station among the nations of the earth.[1]

When in 1829 the Boston-based fur trader Alfred Robinson laid eyes on San Francisco Bay, its shores were indeed "little dwelt upon," in more than the sense in which he intended the phrase. Overlooking the narrow strait called the Golden Gate, where the bay opened into the Pacific Ocean, a closed compound of one-storey adobe buildings – the *presidio* – stood in what Robinson generously called "a most ruinous state," offering barely a clue to the defensive purpose it had been built to serve a half-century earlier.[2] A few kilometres to the south, facing the considerably less dramatic prospect of a shallow creek that wound through mud flats down to the bay, stood the tiny Mission San Francisco de Asis. Here, within an unimpressive cluster of neglected garden plots and nearly deserted bunkhouses, the message of Christ and the guiding hand of civilization had been imparted to an assembled population of benighted natives. By the time of Robinson's arrival, most of those native inhabitants not already dead or disabled had had the sense to flee this place of strange diseases, little food, and unaccustomed labour. In a few years, their Franciscan overseers would themselves pack up and go, though not before slaughtering the remnants of the mission's cattle herd in a last grasp at worldly compensation for their spiritual labours.

Thirty years later, a different scene awaited travelers to this remote site. Hundreds of ships stood in the harbour, ready to unload goods from around the world into massive brick warehouses. At night, in the glow of gaslight, couples strolled to the theatre, sailors drank in saloons, and families gazed at the French clothes or the Boston hardware on display in shop windows. Robinson's prophecy had, to all appearances, come true: San Francisco, once an underpopulated and unpromising outpost, had truly acquired a "conspicuous station among the nations of the earth."

What is it that makes cities attain greatness? Like Robinson, we tend to answer that question by appealing to a sense of inevitability. Whether for the comfort of finding certainty in an uncertain world or simply as a persuasive rhetorical device, we often speak of cities as if they were autonomous natural organisms, with life-cycles of their own. Robinson, an ambitious trader with personal and financial aspirations in California, treated the bay's future urbanization almost as a matter of course, inevitable as the growth of a plant given proper doses of light and water. Whatever the reason for his optimism, we should resist the temptation to think of it as outmoded or archaic: it is not difficult to find writers from far more recent times arguing that the geographic situation of cities like San Francisco makes them "essential," that generally speaking "commercial capitals such as these are inevitable," and that "destiny makes them great."[3] Though cities around the world have been subjected to this kind of mythologizing, the startlingly sudden

development of San Francisco – the "instant city" – has earned it a preferred place in the lore of urban destiny.[4] Usually, its history and its peculiar urban form are both credited to a spontaneous combustion of natural circumstances that, while they might have been foreseen, could hardly have been controlled or reversed.

But few cities truly appear overnight; neither is the form they take as inevitable or unpremeditated as it might seem. It is instead the unique outcome of a particular process of expectations and ideals, decisions and even indecision. That is not to say that the predictions of men like Alfred Robinson are either wrong or irrelevant: those very illusions are themselves essential catalysts of the urban process. When Robinson predicted greatness for the deserted settlement on San Francisco Bay, he may not have been especially prescient – indeed, he was as likely to have proved fool as prophet – but by *seeing* the place in a certain light, by imagining it as the focus of America's "manifest destiny," he actually played a role in starting its transformation in that direction. His notes, like the observations and sketches of numerous travelers of the time, helped others around the world to see an essentially forbidding site, already deserted after a long attempt at colonization, as a place worthy of the tremendous expense, effort, and risk that go into building a city.

Through the years, the form of San Francisco was reflected in, but also influenced by the descriptions and depictions that accompanied the city's remarkable growth. Maps, engravings, and photographs revealed barren hills or disguised them as bucolic, wooded slopes; they presented perfect grids of city streets or showed the awkward places where pavement gave way to sand; they captured the bustle of street life or showed pristine, uninhabited blocks. Each of these views captured something of San Franciscans' changing attitudes toward their city, and each had the power to redirect that attitude in tangible ways. They helped to transform a desolate, barren site into a city famed for its natural beauty, and they helped to turn the hills that had been a practical impediment to even the most basic urban improvements into clear symbols of a well-developed social order. The form of the city, molded on construction sites and roadbeds, acquired its meaning in the photographer's lens, the printer's block, the journalist's notebook. Without these documents – which inevitably interpret as they record – we could not know the city, and without knowing the city we could not make the hard, concrete choices that result in the changing forms of the urban landscape; forms that future generations will then record, interpret, and alter for themselves.

The almost simultaneous acts of shaping and depicting the city are both, in essence, ways of laying claim to space, of beginning to take note of the distinct forms that add up to a single, identifiable whole. Just as the photographer or the cartographer isolates one view within a large and complex scene, the contractor or the developer acts as an individual agent within the constraints and possibilities established by a larger network of city-builders. Each decision as to where a fence will stand, where a sidewalk begins and a street ends, where a public hall shall give way to a private apartment, is a decision to delineate the limits of one person's property against that of another. Who is going to keep this spot clean, or earn money from the rent of that space? Who will enter here, and who can forbid them from doing so? The basic acts of laying sewers, paving streets, and erecting buildings lend a tangible dimension to the claims of individual or collective identity that we all make each day. The other essential aspects of urban culture – public safety, governance, utilities, and the like – are built upon those same claims, and depend upon the negotiation of separate interests within a shared urban setting whose complexity is best symbolized in the vista of the city itself.

To the unending frustration of historians and photographers alike, that dynamic dimension never quite holds still. Each alteration to the city's landscape resolves but also provokes. It freezes some social relation within a structure of wood or stone; yet the very presence of that material image, like a tree fallen in a fast-moving stream, rechannels the currents of human intercourse, making a quiet backwater of one spot and a raging torrent of another. Because this process takes place in unpredictable ways, no element of the urban landscape should be considered a *fait accompli*. The city is not the inevitable, material outcome of some organic process: it is instead the underlying energy that fuels that process, a whirring engine sparked by the constant friction between what is and what could be. If there is anything that is natural or inevitable in the rise of a metropolis like San Francisco, it is perhaps that people will forever be joining or separating over the indescribably complex sequence of events that begins the moment someone draws a line in the sand and says, "this is mine." To understand the city's history, we should look at just where and how those lines were drawn.

SHALLOW ROOTS

Sand was one thing that early visitors like Robinson found plenty of on the tip of the San Francisco peninsula. It blew from the hilltops in the cold, gusty

winds that plagued the area; it slowed the steps of their horses on the trail from the *presidio* to the mission; it prevented all but the hardiest ground plants from taking root across the landscape. The "exceedingly sterile appearance" that travelers of the time noted hardly fits the image of natural beauty so usually invoked by mention of the words "San Francisco."[5]

Scenery, however, was low on the list of priorities of those American and European visitors who arrived in ever-greater numbers during the 1830s. They saw the value of the site not in how it looked, but in what it contained. Most recognized that its geography offered distinct material prospects – not for a town *per se*, but for a base of trade within the lands claimed from Spain by the new Republic of Mexico in the revolution of 1821. They brought their boats to dock in the shelter of a cove called Yerba Buena, which allowed access both to the nearby shipping lanes of the Pacific and to the extensive shores of one of the largest and best-protected bays in the hemisphere (fig. 1). If these sparsely planted hills were good for little else, they had already proved more than adequate for raising cattle, just as the nearby waters proved full of sea otters. It was the lure of a fortune in leather and fur – most of it to be shipped around Cape Horn to Boston, then transformed by a burgeoning clothing industry into hats and shoes to be sold across America – that brought sailors and adventurers like Robinson or fellow Bostonian Richard Henry Dana through the Golden Gate.[6]

The opportunity for trade and manufacture that lay in the new republic may have spurred American presence on these still-foreign shores, but ambitious designs for the bay were nothing new. For hundreds of years, California had been a distant star in the constellation of the Spanish empire, claimed but never developed. Its coast was remote, largely unexplored, and inconsequential to the welfare of the kingdom. In the mid 1700s, at a time when increased British and Russian ship traffic appeared to present a growing threat to control of the Pacific coast, Spanish officials at last began to designate California's remote shores for the kind of systematic colonization they had already attempted elsewhere in the New World. Inspector-General José de Gálvez decided to shift New Spain's northern frontier of settlement from its earlier locus in the deserts of Arizona and New Mexico to the more threatened coastal valleys of California. This largely strategic move was couched in the traditional rhetoric of a Christian empire. The Spaniards' first priority was to save native inhabitants of the region "from the obscure darkness of paganism," then to settle them in towns, or *pueblos*, so that "they may be civilized and lead a rational life."[7] For two hundred

Fig. 1 George H. Baker, lithographer, after Jean-Jacques Vioget, *Yerba Buena (Now San Francisco) in the Spring of 1837* (published 1893). Tint lithograph with hand colouring, 32.9 x 54.4 cm (composition). New York Public Library

years Gálvez and his predecessors had ruled New Spain in accordance with a collected body of rules and directives known as the Laws of the Indies. Those laws brought together into a single document centuries of custom and wisdom pertaining to everything from the proper size and direction of streets to the proper ideological foundations of a Christian civilization. The tasks of city-building, small and large, were tied together in a unified vision of civic and religious responsibility and public and private interest, based, from all appearances, as much on the importance of spreading the Gospel among heathens as on defensive and economic interests. Its three basic settlement forms – *pueblos* or towns, *presidios* or fortresses, and missionary villages – were meant to unite these convergent goals in a series of discrete, civilized spaces spread across the wilderness.

The translation of the Laws of the Indies from words on paper to reality was an uncertain enterprise in California, and the remote mission and *presidio* of San Francisco were among its most uncertain applications. The Laws' envisioned harmony of civic and religious objectives came quickly apart there under the strain of disputes over title to surrounding lands, over the proper treatment of a scattered and recalcitrant native population, and over questions of responsibility for the mundane chores of daily life. The two settlements of mission and fortress, miles apart from one another and displaying not the least trace of urban beginnings, languished at the far end of a frontier that was proving increasingly hard either to settle or to control under the fixed, inflexible grip of Spanish colonization law. The mission, which may have housed more than two thousand natives at its peak in the late 1700s, steadily lost its population through disease and desertion.[8] The *presidio*, left with little practical function, suffered from poor morale and worse repair; its soldiers, rather than accepting land in the immediate area as part of their customary pension, chose to retire to the south around the *pueblo* of San Jose or beyond. The idealized community painted by the Laws of the Indies – a community held together more by presumably shared ideals than by a flexible system for responding to real exigencies and resources – was unable to sink deep roots in the thin soil of the San Francisco peninsula.

LINES IN THE SAND

The ultimate outcome of Spain's loosening grip on its New World possessions was revolution. After 1821 California belonged to the new Republic of Mexico, and it was during the brief period between Mexican independence and the hoisting of the American flag during the Mexican-American War of 1846 that the foundations of the town that became San Francisco were laid. The settlement at San Francisco changed during the Mexican period in a way that the Spanish founders might have been hard-pressed to imagine. Its twin pillars crumbled to dust after the 1820s. The mission, like all of its counterparts in the California system, was appropriated by the government, and the land around it assigned to native residents. But secularization was not the step toward native enfranchisement that it was in theory intended to be. It was instead an opportunity for ambitious Mexican citizens to flock to the area in an effort to claim the newly released mission lands for themselves. The government managed to force most of these new arrivals to settle to the north, in the isolated valley of Sonoma. With them went most of the troops from the *presidio*, who at last had someone to keep a watchful eye on. By 1834 the fort was nearly deserted, and the winter rains had all but destroyed its ill-repaired earthen walls.[9]

If the Mexican government had proven unwilling or unable to maintain the functions of mission and *presidio*, it showed far more interest than the Spaniards had in a third reason for settlement: commerce. The impetus for this change came largely from outside: traders from the Hudson's Bay Company and John Astor's Pacific Fur Company were beginning to explore the bay, encountering little of the resistance they would have met with before 1821, and independent foreign entrepreneurs like the British-born William Richardson and the Swiss-born Jean-Jacques Vioget began to engage in independent trading and ferrying operations up and down the coast. New activity meant a new geography of settlement in San Francisco Bay (fig. 2). In Spanish days, ships had docked under the protective watch of the *presidio*, which sat high on the cliffs just inside the Golden Gate. Members of the first expedition that sailed into the bay had pronounced the shore-line of Yerba Buena Cove, which lay around the tip of the peninsula, several kilometres east of this spot, to be "not clean, but ... muddy, miry, full of sloughs, and for this reason ... bad."[10] But with the *presidio* effectively destroyed, traders and officials alike began to focus their interest on precisely this muddy cove, where their goods were better sheltered from the elements, and where a gentler rise of land allowed for the easier on- and off-loading of goods.[11] It was here that William Richardson wished to settle. He petitioned the Mexican government for, and after years of waiting at last received, the peninsula's first private land grant.

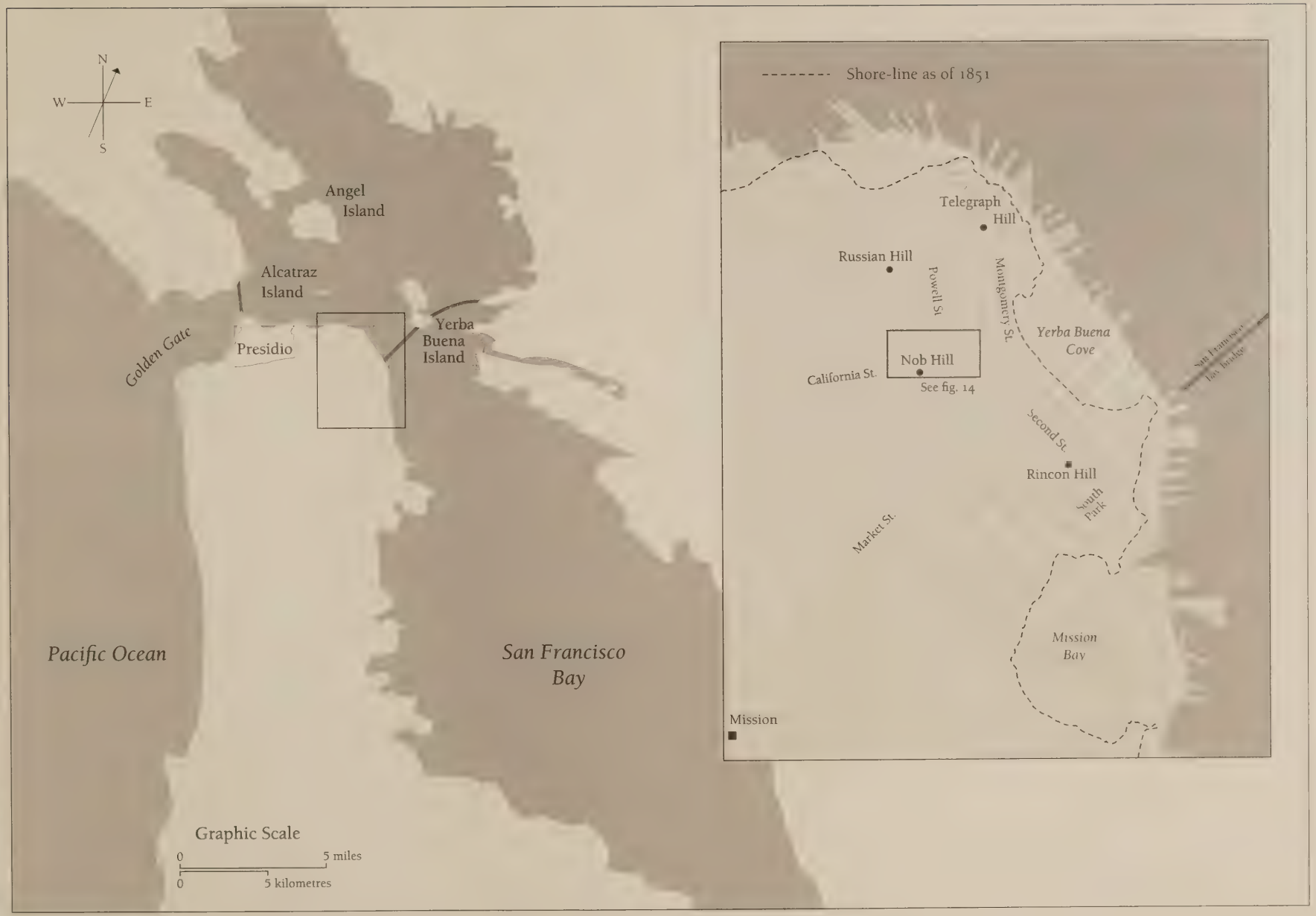


Fig. 2 Map of the San Francisco Bay area. Inset: Central San Francisco, the portion of the city shown in the panoramas. Cartographer: Richard Bachand, for CCA, 1992

Fig. 3 Unknown artist after William Richardson, *Plan of Yerba Buena, California, 1835* (redrawn 1860?). Pen-and-ink, pencil, and watercolour on tracing paper, 62.0 x 85.0 cm (sheet). The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

Richardson drew up a map of the new settlement, which was called Yerba Buena, in October 1835. Primitive and simple as his plan was, it gives us the first glimpse of the "armature" of the city as it eventually developed. It was literally the first line drawn in the sand (fig. 3). The essence of Richardson's plan was a single street – appropriately named the Calle de la Fundación – on which the trader located his own land grant, a lot one-hundred *varas* square.[12] This short street, set back from the shore-line some 275 metres (approx. 900 ft.), lay along the contours of the steep hill that rose sharply to the west of the shore-line of the cove; at either end it connected with existing trails, one to the mission and the other to the *presidio*. On the flat beach that lay below it, Richardson reserved a two-hundred-*vara*-wide swath of land for the government, in accordance with the practice prescribed in the Laws of the Indies.

Yerba Buena had attained its legal status as a *pueblo* under traditional Hispanic settlement law, and it enjoyed the rudiments of a plan. Still, the site remained little more than a trading post, home to a small group of internationally based merchants who operated largely without any civic commitment and apart from local municipal authority. More than a year passed between the time that Richardson occupied his new property and the date of the second land grant, given to a merchant named Jacob Leese. Leese acquired a lot just south of Richardson's (at what is today the corner of Grant Avenue and Clay Street), and erected there a clapboard house: the town's first permanent building. In 1838 he built a store for himself east of the house, upon the shore land that had been supposedly protected from private development.

By 1839 Yerba Buena boasted perhaps fifty residents. Its ragtag appearance – little more than "a few houses, built in the European style, with here and there a '*rancho*', or country seat" – offered little evidence that this place was destined to become the metropolis of the west.[13] The older California *pueblos* of Monterey, Los Angeles, and San Jose, by contrast, all had long-standing street plans, which, though perhaps not much developed, at least offered clear guidelines as to the shape that future development would take. But with the steady, if slow, rise in demand for land at the makeshift settlement of Yerba Buena, Governor Juan Alvarado determined that the time was ripe for a similar system to be instituted there. To carry out this task, Mayor Francisco de Haro turned to another local resident, Jean-Jacques Vioget – like Richardson, a naturalized foreigner with long experience plying the California coast and a vested interest in Yerba Buena trade.

Vioget has been alternately praised and damned for the survey that he carried out in 1839, a survey that, in its essence, fixed the layout of the city we know today (fig. 4).[14] Yet his plan, with its central plaza and large surrounding house lots, merely carried out the formal dictates of the Laws of the Indies within the limitations set by existing settlement at the site. Vioget's task was more to regularize land grants in the existing hamlet than it was to plan for a metropolis. Chief among the innovations of the Vioget plan is the introduction of a limited grid across what had been undifferentiated territory, a simple solution to the problem of parceling out the town into the distinct properties of individual landowners. Richardson's Calle was abandoned as a baseline in favour of a series of streets set at a north-east to south-west tilt that roughly paralleled the shore-line, while six east-west streets were measured off leading up from the shore-line to the west. The old government reserve was gone entirely; in its place, a public plaza – located midway between Leese's home and store – represented the single most recognizable component of Hispanic civic identity. Vioget's plan may indeed have paved the way, as later writers complained, for a grid that defied all common sense when extended across the steep hillsides to the west and north of the cove. Its lot measurements of fifty *varas*, about 42 metres (137 ft. 6 in.) square, may have proved an impractical basis for urban land development. But Vioget was not planning a large city; his Yerba Buena was a contained village of homesteads clustered around a small port. It was a settlement governed by administrators who found no reason not to rely on the precedent of small coastal trading posts in their efforts to shape the future.

When the crew of the American sloop *Portsmouth* landed at Yerba Buena in 1846, they took the Mexican village without firing a shot. Their expedition was the result of a longstanding American desire to use the opportunity of war with Mexico (provoked by the United States' annexation of Texas) to claim California as American territory.[15] Two years passed before California was legally ceded to the U.S. in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which concluded the war, but in the meantime the American occupiers wasted no time in recasting the village of Yerba Buena in the new image of a free-market, mercantile city. To do so required less actual physical reshaping than it did conceptual alteration. The plaza, an urban feature so generic and ubiquitous as to require no other name for Mexicans, was now renamed Portsmouth Square. A second act of christening, far more important, was Mayor Washington Bartlett's decision in January 1847 to rename the town San Francisco. For the first time, the well-known appellation that had been

Fig. 4 Unknown artist after Jean-Jacques Vioget, *Plan of Yerba Buena, California* (1839, redrawn 1855?). Pen-and-ink, pencil, and watercolour on paper, 44.0 x 54.0 cm (sheet). The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

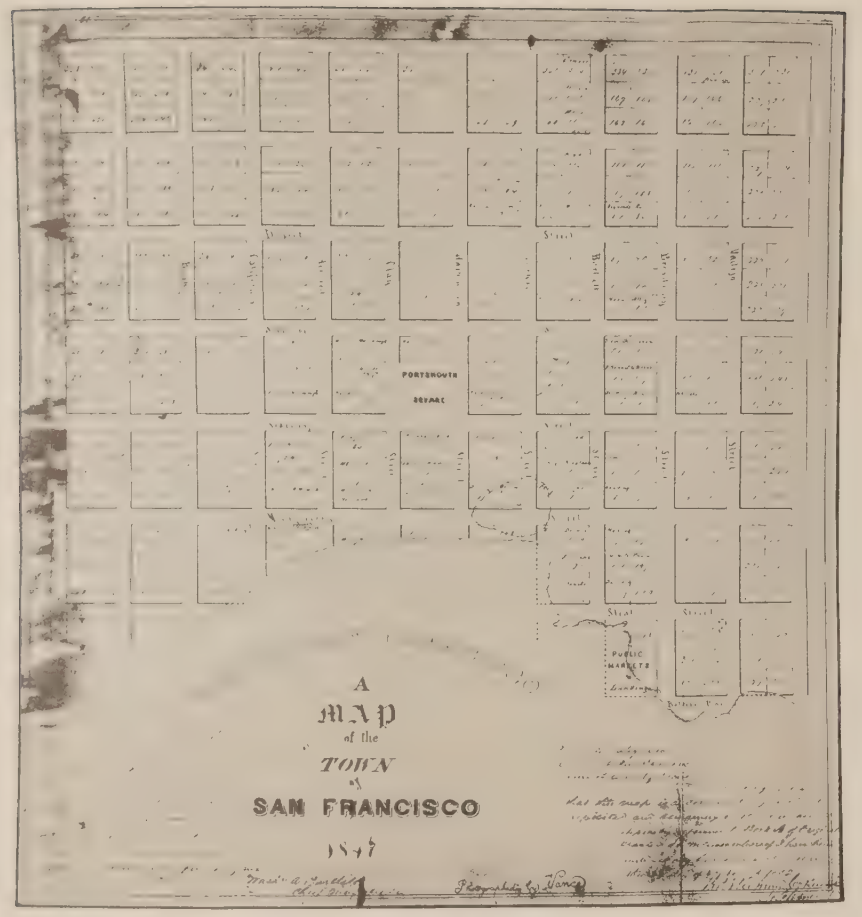


Fig. 5 Robert H. Vance, photographer, after Jasper O'Farrell, cartographer, *A Map of the Town of San Francisco, 1847* (1860). Salted-paper print, 26.0 x 22.8 cm (sheet). California State Archives, Roseville, Calif.

attached, in a general way, to the entire bay, and thus to the extended system of mission, *presidio*, and *ranchos* that surrounded it, was used to refer to the obscure new village that clung to the edge of Yerba Buena Cove. At the same time, the image that guided development changed from a blurry sketch of dispersed and static colonial settlement to a more sharply focused picture of a compact, busy urban centre.

Key to the success of this plan was the task of developing the land. Under the American administration, land came to mean something quite different than it had in earlier years. Once given in perpetuity to applicants who agreed to improve and inhabit a single property and never to sell it, land could now change hands without condition or restriction. The new government quickly sold off the property remaining within the old *pueblo*, and late in 1846 Bartlett hired civil engineer Jasper O'Farrell to extend Vioget's small survey in order to sell even more. O'Farrell used Vioget's scheme of seven years before as the basis for his work, altering nothing of the earlier plan (except for eliminating the anomalous Calle) but extending it south to Sutter Street, west to Mason Street, and north to Green Street.[16] The utility of O'Farrell's first survey was short-lived: once he had begun, the engineer complained that the oblique angles of Vioget's original blocks, which he had first accepted, were entirely impractical from a surveyor's standpoint, and he undertook to "recommence" the survey as an orthogonal grid (fig. 5).[17] Around the same time, Mayor Bartlett's successor Edwin Bryant determined to create additional property (and additional revenue) by dividing the mud flats east of Montgomery Street into city lots. Each of these "water lots", as the tidal lands were known, was 45 feet (13.7 m) in width – significantly, the first property in the city to be divided at a relatively dense urban scale, as well as the first property to be measured in American rather than Spanish units. They were offered at public auction in July 1847. In addition to straightening street corners and marking off the water lots, O'Farrell extended Vioget's fifty-*vara* divisions still further west and south. He also added what quickly became the most notable and, to many, problematic section of the new survey: the so-called one-hundred-*vara* lots. Here, south of the fifty-*vara* survey, blocks were divided in the same three-lot-wide, two-lot-deep grid as the old survey, but each lot was the more traditional (according to the Laws of the Indies) hundred *varas* square in size (about 84 m square). In orienting the hundred-*vara* lots at an angle roughly forty-five degrees from true north, O'Farrell found a sensible way to connect the centre of the cove to what remained of the mission settlement (an area protected from the high winds and

stifling dust that hampered settlement along the shore), without confronting the formidable topography that would frustrate developers of the fifty-*vara* lots for years to come. The hundred-*vara* survey – now better known as South of Market – has, for better or for worse, continued to develop in a manner distinct from the centre of the city, thanks in large part to these decisions made by O'Farrell in 1847.

Beyond its practical significance in facilitating the sale of city land, the O'Farrell survey also constituted a further step in the submission of a once-forbidding landscape to Euclidean order: it suggested that the shape of the city would now be determined as much by decisions made in lawyer's offices and real-estate bureaus as by the natural features that had first brought traders to camp beside Yerba Buena Cove. The simplicity of that notion was sufficiently powerful to rule the city's development in its first quarter-century.

The "evolution" of land in San Francisco – from the bonding agent of a stable community to the city's primary commodity – commenced the moment that American settlers, now free of the restrictive fetters of Hispanic land law, received their first grants in 1847. Well before the massive influx of hopeful adventurers that followed the 1848 discovery of gold in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada range, before the nearby Central Valley (between the coast and the Sierras) had been exploited for its rich agricultural potential, and before the city had taken its place as a centre of finance and industry, commerce in land represented San Francisco's primary commercial activity. Where a total of sixty-four grants had been sold in the eleven years between the time Richardson acquired his land and the moment that Washington Bartlett took office, more than eight hundred were acquired in the first year-and-a-half of American rule. Rather than tying its owner into the prescribed social web of the community, as the Spanish system had intended, property now bound together a disparate but growing group of men (most of whom lacked the social and marital ties to the local Mexican aristocracy that earlier settlers like Richardson and Vioget had cultivated) into a newer social network based on money. Many recipients of government grants quickly sold their land for a quick and easy profit. The water-lot auction, held in the summer of 1847, brought to the town a scene familiar across the rest of the American frontier but still alien to California: hundreds of men shouting and jostling one another for possession of divisions of land that were for the moment only as substantial as the paper on which they were depicted.[18] The Gold Rush, which raised the town's population from 2,000 to some 20,000 in 1849 alone, brought wagonloads of buyers to fuel this wildfire speculation. Now there was a real and immediate need for land, and enough demand to keep prices high. Land fever in San Francisco exhibited the spiraling logic of supply and demand. The more people saw the quick turnaround and rapid profits earned on land sales there, the more they clamoured to get into the market themselves, and the greater the demand, the higher prices climbed. In 1849 William Eddy, newly appointed as City Engineer, prepared an update of O'Farrell's survey, extending both the fifty- and the one-hundred-*vara* sections further to the west and opening up still more land for development (see cat. no. 1).

As with the earlier survey, the new map was more "accurate" as a depiction of a commodity than as a depiction of an actual place. Once again, the correspondence between the changing landscape and its changing image was less certain than it appeared at first sight. So long as Eddy's survey was used as a tool in the relatively abstract activity of real-estate trading, it presented no problem. But as soon as anyone bothered to relate its neat, certain lines to the shifting sands and eroding shore-line on which the new town was rising, its fictional character became all too apparent. When Eddy's assistant Milo Hoadley was sent out actually to mark the street lines prior to their grading, he returned complaining that "the whole 100-*vara* work is a bundle of errors corresponding exactly with nothing else and disagreeing with itself." Hoadley grew tired of coming back to the office after long days stretching survey chains in the cold winter rain, only to find Eddy in an inebriated state, oblivious to the problems his faulty work was causing.[19] But to the extent that the Eddy survey continued to force San Franciscans to picture their settlement as a system of rectilinear divisions on the land rather than – as it appeared to the eye – a haphazard assortment of buildings set amidst the sand hills, it contained a prophetic power that more than made up for its descriptive shortcomings.

In this and so many other ways, the act of building a town took place both on the land and in the rarefied realm of engineering documents and legal papers. To pave a street or build a store, one needed not just accurate maps but a coherent body of laws that addressed such problems as how to pay for public improvements or how to regulate the sale of property. Those laws, moreover – somewhat like the idealized maps produced in the City Engineer's office – were never quite as authoritative and incontrovertible as they appeared. Behind them all lay the most difficult legal problem of all: land claims. The question of who, exactly, had the right to the lands

described in the O'Farrell and Eddy surveys took government investigators back into a tangle of archaic Spanish and Mexican laws that in their own day had been liberally applied and loosely interpreted. Bound by treaty to honour all extant valid land claims, the Board of Land Commissioners that met at San Francisco between 1852 and 1856 walked a political tightrope between upholding the legality of Spanish and Mexican claims and satisfying the demands of a fast-growing population of American land seekers. Normally that conflict was drawn up along cultural lines, pitting Hispanic settlers against their Anglo successors. But in one key case it revealed divisions brewing within the American town itself over the proper distribution of this property.

The episode that did more than any other to raise questions about the rightful ownership of the urban landscape was the claim of the city government to possession of four square-leagues of land – a region that was considerably larger than the entire area covered by the Eddy survey. The city's claim was based on the earlier Mexican *pueblo* grant, a rather vaguely worded document dating from the time of Richardson's land claim. Opposed to the claim were the hundreds of squatters residing on unplatted land around the city. If, as they maintained, their land was federal and not city property, then their occupation entitled them to a legal claim of possession. If on the other hand the city was the rightful owner, these squatters could be removed and the land sold for the benefit of the public treasury. In fact there was much more at issue here than opposed economic interests: at stake in this dispute was effectively who would shape the growing city. With the closely controlled, socially based system of Hispanic land law now dismantled, public and private interest in the community no longer amounted to the same thing. The Land Commission was in a position to widen that rift beyond repair. But after three years, a compromise was found uniting these interests in a uniquely American way: while the city was given title to the *pueblo* lands, it used that title to relinquish the lands to whoever occupied them as of 1855.[20]

The decision was prophetic: it reasserted the traditional powers of the Mexican *pueblo* by laying public claim to unsurveyed land, but it applied those powers to enforcing liberties that would have been unthinkable a generation earlier. In so doing it put the stamp of public approval on the pursuit of private goals. In this way the work of the Land Commission acquired an extra dimension not obvious from its actual mandate. The Commission was compelled to take a retrospective look at a place whose physical traces were fast disappearing, with the purpose of justifying and preparing for a place that was soon to come. The Commission's deliberations produced a revised genealogy of property, linking the future with a past that a walk through town could no longer reveal.

WAREHOUSE CITY

What kind of city was going up during the period in which these conceptual issues were being debated? The brief period between the Gold Rush and the financial crash of the mid 1850s was marked at once by explosive growth and unprecedented disaster. The two-dimensional world of survey maps and land laws was a mere shadow of the world of streets and wharves, stores and lodging houses that grew, by one estimate, at the astounding rate of one hundred buildings per month during this period (fig. 6).[21] Until San Francisco was able to produce its own goods and services and retain its own population, the city functioned as a vast warehouse: it stored natural commodities like lumber from Oregon and gold dust from the Sierras, finished goods from the East like furniture and clothing, and even human beings – single men especially, who from the start inhabited hotels and lodging houses of all ranks, and were likelier to leave town after a few years than to make the city their home.[22] As an urban warehouse, the city needed little more than roofs to keep out the rain and walls to keep out the wind. This was, for a few years, all that it got.

The appearance of the warehouse city was generated by one fundamental condition: access to the bay. As the water-lot auctions suggested, people were willing to pay extraordinarily inflated prices for property that allowed them to get things in and out of the bay easily. Not surprisingly, then, the bulk of the city's early architectural development took place in the blocks between Portsmouth Square and the waterfront. In the case of the water lots, landowners hastily erected frame buildings over foundations of timber piles driven into the muddy ground. The actual drainage of these lots would await the wholesale grading of nearby hills (which provided the city with a source of landfill) and, in the late 1860s, the construction of a sea-wall behind which that fill could be dumped. In the meantime, waterfront development contained its own contradictions: each time another lot was developed, the actual shipping facilities – still the city's primary *raison d'être* – became less accessible. By the late 1850s the waterfront had begun to fall victim to its own success. Thanks to continual fill and construction its most densely

developed section, according to one official report, "has been ruined, so far as heavy commercial requirements are to be considered."[23] What were once long wharves became city streets, and the earlier primacy of maritime activity gradually lessened in the face of the growing complexity and efficiency of the operations taking place on dry land (see cat. nos 6–7). Though the "commercial requirements" of San Francisco were by no means ruined, they were changing.

The development of a more permanent architectural landscape further inland, however, was continually stymied by the scourge of fire. On five separate occasions between 1849 and 1851 whole sections of the town were leveled by flames, and each time, owners sifted through the ashes and built anew.[24] In this constantly rising and falling city, few structures acquired more than temporary prominence. San Franciscans grew used to thinking of their town as a way-station, for in these years its identity was tied more fundamentally to the commodities coming and going from the port than to the buildings and streets in which they were housed and transported.

The scant concern paid to the appearance of the warehouse city was obvious everywhere. Until the construction of steam-powered sawmills elsewhere along the bay front (particularly at Redwood City, several miles south), lumber was a precious commodity on the treeless shores of Yerba Buena Cove. In the first decade of the American period materials for construction were gathered wherever they might be found, and the majority of the city's buildings presented themselves to observers as "nondescript, shapeless, patchwork concerns, in the fabrication of which sheet-iron, wood, zinc, and canvas seem to have been employed indiscriminately."[25] Still, there was a certain order arising within the apparent chaos, an order dictated more by money than by any other single factor. Much of the city's architecture was anything but indiscriminate, reflecting rather the deliberate work of men with the means for capitalizing quickly on their investments in real estate.[26] A number of corrugated iron buildings were shipped in pieces from eastern foundries and reassembled on the newly purchased lots. In 1849 William D.M. Howard, one of the Anglo-American merchants whose prominence dated back to the Mexican period, colonized an entire section of the Happy Valley neighbourhood (around the corner of First and Mission streets) with identical prefabricated wooden homes (fig. 7, see cat. no. 5).[27] Post-fire building codes required brick construction within the central blocks of the city, further escalating the cost of buying and developing property in desirable locations.

Fig. 6 Unknown photographer, *View Down Sacramento Street, San Francisco*, plate 4 of cat. no. 9 (between 19 January and 3 May 1851). Daguerreotype, 8.7 x 12.0 cm (image, sight), 10.7 x 13.9 cm (plate). International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester, NY

Fig. 7 Unknown photographer, *View of Prefabricated Houses, Second and Howard Streets, San Francisco*, plate 2 of a 7-part panorama (1851). Daguerreotype, 14.8 x 20.0 cm (image, sight), 20.4 x 25.3 cm (plate). California Historical Society, San Francisco

The development boom of the early 1850s resulted in the construction of a great many small residential and commercial structures, as well as a handful of more expensive, large buildings whose scale and cost suggested a growing commitment to San Francisco's permanence. The solidity of a few massive structures, both public (like the Customs House at Battery and Washington streets) and private (for example the Montgomery Block, on Montgomery between Washington and Merchant), stood in marked contrast to the thousands of small commercial and residential structures erected cheaply on fifty-*vara* lots that were subdivided into small, individually owned parcels.[28]

It was perhaps this contrast of scale and this seemingly random disparity in architectural development which made San Franciscans of the mid to late 1850s acutely critical of the gap between ideal and reality in their city. Commentators like H.G. Langley, who normally painted only the most glowing of pictures for his annual city directory, freely admitted that the city had "the aspect and character of a desert." To the disparaging eye of another observer the prospect of San Francisco from the bay presented "nothing but long rows of buildings, clouds of dust, busy, crowded streets, and sand hills."[29]

This criticism suggests that local residents had begun to entertain a sense of what their city should *look like,* rather than simply what functions it should serve. As long as urban life was reduced to a question of profit, or even survival, co-ordinated growth was an unaffordable luxury. People worked close to the waterfront, lived where they could, and moved when they had to. If they worried about the appearance of the city, they worried about how to rebuild from the last fire, how to rid their basements of the ever-present rats, or how to keep sand from blowing in through their first-floor windows. The San Francisco of the 1850s was transient and, for the most part, anonymous. One visitor, struck by "the somewhat singular fact that very few citizens are extensively known in the city," noted that few businesses invested in signs, since "people often change their places."[30] The act of making oneself known, of leaving more than a fleeting trace upon the landscape, became intimately tied to the building of buildings and, on an even grander scale, to the manipulation of the land on which they stood. Despite the city's much acclaimed natural advantages, San Franciscans soon faced the prospect of expensive, massive alterations to the landscape as they slowly progressed from entrepot to full-fledged metropolis.

THE "CITY OF HILLS"

When work on the city's topographical problems at last commenced, its sheer scale gave public improvement in San Francisco an epic quality that it would hold in few other cities. San Franciscans marveled at the "Steam Paddy," a steam-powered shovel that did in a minute the work a team of Irish labourers ("paddies," in the argot of the time) might do in an hour. In a peculiar way, the paddy was seen as an agent of democracy: a "great leveler, bringing down the high and elevating the low," as one local newspaper put it. Yet the wholesale razing of hills and the opening of more lands for development acquired a more menacing complexion when, as with the streets of the new Chinese quarter, it brought a less desirable sort of development in its wake. A fast-developing Chinatown challenged the image that Euro-American settlers had developed of their city, and caused some among that dominant group to question the virtues of unbridled urbanization. Here the same paper waxed nostalgic, lamenting that "the progress of civilization has destroyed the beauties with which nature clothed our city of hills."[31]

Were San Francisco's hills a nuisance or a scenic asset? Conflicting responses to that question came from both City Hall and the street. Milo Hoadley, who followed Eddy as City Engineer, completed his survey of street grades in the spring of 1853. Faced with the inevitability of extending the unyielding grid beyond the level land by the cove (and aware of the growing need for landfill on the shore-line), Hoadley had recommended massive grading of the city's higher elevations.[32] But since grading required money and slowed land sales, a separate commission was appointed to review his costly recommendations. The final decision, though probably dictated more by fiscal expediency than civic aesthetics, nevertheless made appeal to the city's "varied outlines" and "changing aspects": the commission recommended that the hills be kept at close to their natural elevations for the sake of preserving the city's scenic beauty. For the first time, public policy was being shaped by avowedly aesthetic goals. The primary beneficiaries of this policy were clearly an elite minority: the engineers justified their course of action by predicting that on the city's forbidding slopes would someday "be erected the finest mansions in the city."[33]

Still, it was no foregone conclusion that San Francisco's hilltops would distinguish themselves within the otherwise unvarying street grid. The hills were as likely to hinder as to encourage the development of a more distinctive, internally differentiated city. In the decade of the 1860s (when the city's population more than doubled to 150,000), a practical demand for land and a significant, if less measurable, desire for architectural improvement together forced city residents to address the problem of the irregular topography. The case of two of those hills provides an illustration of how nature, economics, and aesthetic intention all conspired to redirect the city's growth and to influence social-geographic divisions that came, in later years, to seem natural and inevitable.

While the filling of the old cove south of Market Street had eliminated the waterborne commerce that once dominated the area, certain physical barriers (the excessive width and odd tilt of Market Street, and the sand hills that rose to the north of it) had kept downtown business from spreading south to take its place. At the very bottom of that area lay Mission Bay which, unlike the cove, still offered a large, well-protected anchorage and plenty of room for industrial expansion. Between these two locales stood a single obstacle: the thirty-metre high (100 ft.) ridge known as Rincon Hill (see cat. nos 6–7). On the peak of this hill, along Harrison, First, and Second streets, the engineers' judgement had proved correct: here were raised the homes of some of the city's wealthiest families, who enjoyed good views of the bay and spacious lots conveniently close to the centre of town. Along the hill's western slope stood South Park, the exclusive residential development laid out in the 1850s and the first example in San Francisco – or, for that matter, in the American West – of the kind of co-ordinated neighbourhood plan then beginning to appear in wealthy sections of older Eastern cities (fig. 8).

But not everyone appreciated the natural elevation of Rincon Hill. For banker William Ralston and his associates, it stood in the way of a planned new street, New Montgomery, that would cut directly through the South of Market district, from Mission Bay north to the busy corner of Market and Montgomery streets. As Ralston was planning his improvement scheme, others began lobbying for a major cut through the hill at nearby Second Street. This Second Street cut was approved in 1868 and completed the following year (fig. 9). Together with New Montgomery Street (which in the end extended only two blocks south of Market), the Second Street cut opened up the area for additional development and speculation.

The question of who benefited from such changes was not easy to answer at the time; the precarious balance of public and private interest struck in the early land-claims cases was still shaky and disputable. The city's assessors agreed that the actual value of the private property taken for the cut (the "damages," in legal terms) was considerable, but they argued that in return

Fig. 8 George Fardon, *View of South Park from Second Street, San Francisco* (negative exposed 1856). Salted-paper print (image: 20.2 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ in.) image) CCA-PHI979.0355.025. Plate 23 from Fardon's *San Francisco Album*, Herre and Bauer, 1856 (see cat. no. 14)

the landowners along the route would reap a substantial benefit from the improved accessibility of their property. The assessors offered a collective settlement of over $200,000. The property owners came back with a suit for $2 million.[34] The cut, they argued, left their homes as high as 23 metres (75 ft.) above the roadway; to be actually accessible to the street, the hill itself would have to be leveled; and the "value" of their land – measured not by what it might fetch at auction but in terms of its original use as a quiet residential district – had all but vanished.[35] Rincon Hill and South Park were quickly incorporated into the neighbourhood of "narrow streets ... built up with small dwellings" that San Franciscans identified with the South of Market blocks.[36] Increasingly, the neighbourhood was covered in "black columns of smoke," as the *Real Estate Circular* wrote, that "darken the sky and scatter more smut than a sensation paper" (fig. 10).[37] For Rincon Hill, then, "improvement" had meant massive grading; but that expensive process had, by most people's estimate, defeated the very purpose it was intended to serve.

The story of another high elevation, variously referred to at the time as the Clay Street, California Street, or Taylor Street hill, turned out quite differently. This 91-metre (300 ft.) high ridge rose just west of Dupont Street (now Grant Avenue) and had effectively halted the westward growth of the city before 1860. Unlike Rincon Hill, however, the Clay Street Hill hid nothing particularly desirable beyond it and therefore never struck anyone as prime land for leveling. But it did come to represent an outlying refuge from the unsettling change taking place closer to the centre of town. With the transformation of the lower slopes of Telegraph Hill (north of Portsmouth Square) into a rough district of foreign settlers, sailors, and taverns, and with Dupont and Stockton streets (west of the square) becoming home to a Chinese population that was openly feared by many of the city's American residents, the idea of skirting these questionable districts altogether began to seem more attractive, particularly to those who could afford their own carriages to make the trip up and down the steep hills that lay beyond these central neighbourhoods. At the same time, the eastern prow of the hill along California west of Powell Street was the site of a minor flurry of real-estate activity, as Christopher Temple Emmett and Julia Dean Hayne each built homes on large lots facing east to the bay. The decision of people like Emmett and Hayne to build substantial homes on California Street was echoed in the early 1870s by more prominent San Franciscans like Richard Tobin, who erected a mansion at the south-east corner of Taylor and California in 1871,

and David Colton, the attorney for the Central Pacific Railroad, whose Italianate house filled half of the block opposite Tobin's home a year later. As the classical façades and neatly fenced and landscaped yards of those residences appeared where once sand had blown past a few isolated shacks, the massive hill that had been a geographical detriment to the old city began to seem a natural site on which to define the new. Below the hill on the streets of downtown, San Franciscans were struck by the "unvarying uniformity" of new business blocks standing "like files of nicely-decked soldiers on dress parade."[38] The sheer height of the hill, combined with the architectural exuberance of the homes being built upon it, created a contrast that could not have been more striking.

The hill as a whole, and California Street in particular, had therefore begun to acquire a distinct identity by 1871, before the events that finally secured its place at the top of the social-geographic pyramid of nineteenth-century San Francisco. The completion in 1869 of the transcontinental railroad had given to its western sponsor, the Central Pacific Company, a wealth and prominence that no western city could afford to ignore. In 1868, the state proposed a donation of property to the railroad that would allow it to build tracks from Oakland across the bay to a terminus near Yerba Buena Island. This was but one among many concessions that would be proposed or granted to what soon became the most lucrative industrial monopoly in the West. (The election of Leland Stanford to the seat of governor soon after he had helped to form the Central Pacific in 1861 was no negligible influence in the company's early fortunes.) Although nothing came of this particular *coup*, it did presage the transfer to San Francisco in 1873 of the company's head office, and with it the head officers: Colton, Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins (the final partner, Collis Huntington, was stationed in New York). The arrival of three of the "Big Four" with their legal counsel Colton signaled a concentration of wealth and power unknown even in this city where overnight fortunes were a commonplace. With their decision to build homes close together on the California Street Hill, the city where "few citizens are extensively known" became the city where the homes of a select few of those citizens took on an iconic power and visibility then unsurpassed in urban America.

Colton, the first to invest, was followed by Stanford, who acquired the two fifty-*vara* lots of the Hayne property from its second owner, Erwin Davis, a mining speculator who had recently lost the home to his creditors. Eventually Stanford bought the remaining four lots on the block and divided the

Fig. 9 T.E. Hecht after an unknown photographer, *Second Street Cut, San Francisco* (negative exposed 1869) Mounted silver print. 16.6 x 22.4 cm (image). 19 6 x 24.8 cm (mount) California Historical Society, San Francisco

Fig. 10 Isaiah Taber, *Bird's-Eye View of San Francisco, Towards Palace Hotel and Nob Hill* (negative exposed 1880s). Unmounted albumen silver print, 12.0 x 20.2 cm (image), 13.3 x 20.4 cm (sheet). California Historical Society, San Francisco

entire parcel in two: the eastern half he kept for himself while he sold the western, uphill half to his partner Hopkins. Crocker also bought land in 1873, just west of Colton's at Taylor and California streets. Like Stanford, he invested not in a single house-lot nor even in a whole fifty-*vara* lot, but in an entire block, six fifty-*vara* lots – a striking extravagance in the city at the time. Unlike Stanford, Crocker was not entirely successful in this venture. A single house on the block, the property of Nicholas Yung, an undertaker whose tenancy on the hill preceded its heyday, eluded his grasp. Rather than negotiate with Yung on the earlier resident's terms, Crocker surrounded his neighbour's house with a wall 12 metres high (40 ft.) – the "spite fence" – making the home unliveable and forcing Yung to move (see cat. no. 27). The fence remained on the property into the next century, long after Yung had moved the house from the site and, indeed, after his death.

The city's real-estate community was quick to notice the activity at the top of the hill, and nearly as quick in analyzing the social jockeying behind it. Remarking on the rumoured $55,000 sale price of a lot at Taylor and Sacramento streets in 1874, the *Real Estate Circular* noted that "if John Smith is rich and buys in a certain locality, Jones, who is also rich, must follow him, so that both may get together and vie with each other in making spread-eagle residences."[39] Professional civic boosters like Henry Langley were less cynical. In referring to the developing "Highland Terrace District" (another of the names tried out on the area before "Nob Hill" finally stuck), Langley enthused that "a group of mining monarchs, railway kings, and real-estate princes have purchased extensive and adjacent lots and commenced the erection of palatial mansions" on the site. Not the simple product of social one-upmanship, the building mania was in Langley's opinion an inevitable step in the progress of San Francisco: "at this stage in the life of every city commences its true and permanent growth in architectural beauty."[40] Presumably the social evolution behind this physical growth was just and fitting as well. This striking new linkage of social to geographical prominence provided citizens with a clear visual symbol of their city that they had lacked in earlier years. Perhaps the sense of a community defined through clearly understood and accepted relations to the land, a distant (and perhaps artificially created) memory from the days of Hispanic dominion, had returned at last.

The houses of Nob Hill, especially after the construction of the Stanford, Hopkins, and Crocker mansions between 1876 and 1878, were the most conspicuous architectural landmarks of San Francisco. For observers like

Langley, their turrets and gables lent "an appearance of oriental magnificence" to the city's previously restrained skyline, intensifying the air of exoticism that journalists and novelists were beginning to lean on in their descriptions of the city. To others, particularly in the crushing depression years of the 1870s, they also represented an unapologetic symbol of the plunder that made a few men millionaires while thousands of others struggled for bread. There were 15,000 men without work in San Francisco in 1878.[41] Many of them found their voice in the charismatic Irish-born teamster Denis Kearney, who inveighed against both the Chinese workers who had allegedly stolen their jobs and the railroad barons who had done so much to bring the Chinese to California. In October 1877, following months of demonstrations and periodic organized looting, Kearney led a group of three thousand to the top of the California Street hill to take the workers' troubles straight to their highest source. They succeeded, in this and other protests, in attracting the attention not only of workers around the city but also of state authorities, who were not about to stand by while the property of the state's most powerful men was threatened. By January the senate rushed through legislation increasing the police force in the city and outlawing incendiary speech.

As the Kearney demonstration showed, Nob Hill had become a powerful symbol of the city's social stratification. But the ensuing senate bills showed just as clearly how limited the public's access to such spaces was to be. Indeed, while in its clarity and fixity the new identification of spatial and social order in San Francisco bore some resemblance to the old colonial order, it differed in one key respect: the future shape of the city would be dictated by the primacy of frankly private space. Though the newly established Golden Gate Park afforded some public access, its development had gone hand in hand with an act that put the lands around it directly into the possession of private citizens. Even Portsmouth Square – the old Mexican plaza and the most visible vestige of the stable community defined in the old Laws of the Indies – was denigrated as a refuge for "purple nosed loafers" and proposed for sale to private developers.[42]

SECOND NATURE: THE NEW LANDSCAPE

In the generation to come, the locus of San Francisco's most conspicuous architectural iconography would shift again, as commercial buildings downtown acquired the kind of distinctiveness and city-wide recognition that the homes of Nob Hill had attained in the 1870s. Beginning with the Palace and Baldwin hotels on Market Street and continuing through the construction of a series of conspicuous, steel-framed skyscrapers, the wealth and influence of the city's most powerful citizens were increasingly channeled through their estate companies, their banks, and their corporations into lucrative commercial spaces that stretched vertically above a business district that no longer had room to spread horizontally (fig. 11). Even on Nob Hill the scene had changed: the Fairmont Hotel sprawled across California Street from Stanford's and Hopkins' mansions, dwarfing both structures with its granite-clad bulk.

When the great earthquake struck on the morning of 18 April 1906, it struck a city already substantially different from the city of the 1870s that photographer Eadweard Muybridge had documented. Most of the barons of Nob Hill were gone. Many had not actually lived in their homes for long (Colton lived for only six years after he moved in, silver baron James Flood died in 1889, three years after the completion of the brownstone mansion that still stands on California Street, and Hopkins didn't even live to see his home finished), so their outsize palaces were already relics of a sort even before they were consumed by the fires that spread up the hill from downtown late that night. Like the steam paddy of a half-century earlier, the twin disasters of 1906 were "great levelers," taking everything that lay in their path without regard to origin or value. And like both the city's rise from the mudflats in the 1840s and its continual rebuilding after the fires of the 1850s, the quick reconstruction that followed seemed to happen instantly.

The new city rose, it seemed, almost of its own accord – "like a phoenix from the ashes," it was often said – and with it came a sense that the benefits and the opportunities of reconstruction were distributed as indiscriminately as the destruction. But the game of rebuilding, in 1906, was played on a field that was about as level as the city itself. Just as the irregularities in the city's topography had come to seem more like the inevitable reflection of a stratified urban culture than an impediment to be eliminated, the inequalities of opportunity that attended the rebuilding were taken for granted. The fact that the city's most impressive building had passed from private to corporate sponsorship, and from the handicraft of the carpenter to the machine craft of the steelworker, did nothing to change that perception. Existing trends continued as the twentieth-century city rose, fixing the old divisions of wealth more firmly and visibly than ever before.

12 Unknown photographer for R J Waters & Co. *Business District of San Francisco. No. 51* (negative exposed 1906). Unmounted gelatin silver print. 23.3 x 159.7 cm (image). 24.1 x 160.8 cm (sheet). CCA PH1985:0677

The ultimate evidence of that change was soon visible in the landscape itself (fig. 12). As the city has aged, periodic downtown building booms – in the 1920s, the 1960s, and most recently in the 1980s – have gradually created a skyline that all but obscures the natural contours of San Francisco's site. The hills that once represented an imposing barrier to future growth, and later formed the dramatic perch for homes that commanded panoramic views of the city, barely register in the skyline today. Standing in their way are the jagged contours of a newer topography, formed of concrete and steel. It is tempting to fall back into naturalistic analogies in describing this new San Francisco – to speak of the "concrete canyons" of Montgomery Street or the "streams of traffic" flowing over the Bay Bridge – without pausing to reflect on the strange reassurance that these comfortable metaphors offer us in the face of an almost entirely contrived landscape. As we have seen, there is nothing entirely natural, nothing completely spontaneous or unwilled, in the form of the city.

So we are left, once again, with the question: What makes cities great, if not simply destiny? The architectural historian Joseph Rykwert has written that "the town is not really like a natural phenomenon," that it is instead "an artefact of a curious kind, compounded of willed and random elements." While we easily imagine cities as natural organisms, with their own self-regulating metabolisms and their own inevitable life-cycles, we might consider with Rykwert that "if it is related to physiology at all, [the city] is more like a dream than anything else."[43]

Leafing through images of a changing San Francisco is indeed something like remembering a dream. The pictures seem at first glance to tell a single, inevitable story, one that has appeared entirely at its own bidding. Adding to those pictures the difficult and circuitous tale of the shaping of the urban landscape is something like arriving at the next stage of reflection, when we begin to recall all of the events and sensations from our waking lives that were reassembled to form the larger story of the dream. In the history of San Francisco, the acts of describing, measuring, and picturing the landscape have themselves given form and meaning to each stage of the city's growth. Like dreams, each of those acts has seemed in its time to be unwilled; to be a reflective, rather than interpretive, process. Standing back from these pictures, we can see that in truth they belong, like the steam paddy and the sawmill, to an unending process by which women and men lay ephemeral, personal claim to an enduring, impersonal landscape.

1 Alfred Robinson, 215.
2 Alfred Robinson, 56.
3 Oppenheim, 3.
4 This coinage comes from Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver*, one of the best histories of nineteenth-century San Francisco.
5 Clark, 230.
6 For a general introduction to the coastal fur trade, see Hittell, I, 668–726. Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* remains the most compelling and readable account of life in California before American occupation.
7 Davidson, 10; Bucareli.
8 Cook, 183.
9 Vallejo.
10 Anza et al., III, 256.
11 Hittell, II, 202.
12 A *vara*, the basic unit of Spanish survey practice, was equal to 84 centimetres or 33 inches in length; 100 *varas* (the mandated land grant according to Mexican decree) was equal to 84 metres or 275 feet.
13 Clark, 231. The population estimate is from Bancroft, III, 710.
14 See, for example, the favourable assessment contained in Barry and Patten, 210, or the lengthy critique in Upton, 131–37.
15 Bancroft, V, 194ff.
16 This plan may itself have been the extension of an earlier addition to Vioget's survey. Close inspection of the map reveals several discrepancies with the eventual street-naming systems. Stockton and Dupont streets are reversed from their final placement, and Pine Street has been omitted from its later position between California and Bush streets. See Harlow, 92–93.
17 Jasper O'Farrell to Edwin Bryant, 6 March 1847, in E.P. Jones Papers, Box 2, Bancroft Library.
18 Fritzsche, 20, 23. The sale was conducted, by one account, "with such hot haste" that few present understood exactly what lots were being offered when. Some purchasers apparently conspired to hide valuable lots in batches of property sold in bulk, thereby confusing the rest of the bidders and reserving the choicest sites for themselves. See the *Report of Senate Special Committee, Relative to State Land Sales at San Francisco, October 10, 1855*, 16.
19 Milo Hoadley diary, 19 Jan. 1850, 11 March 1850, collection Bancroft Library.
20 Bancroft, VII, 229–32; Hittell, IV, 237–9.
21 Kirker, 36.
22 Between 1850 and 1870 three out of four residents left the city within a period of eight years, according to Issel and Cherny, 14.
23 J.P. Robinson, 4.
24 The fires and the subsequent rebuilding campaigns are detailed in Mazzi 1974, 72–82. On this period in general, see Lotchin.
25 J.D. Borthwick (c. 1857), quoted in Mazzi 1973, 150.
26 One contemporary account listed the monthly rent of a typical small house in the city as $250, with stores commanding as much as $2,000. Capron, 136.
27 Barry and Patten, 205; Hittell, III, 345.
28 For an account of the ways in which the unwieldy fifty-*vara* lots could be divided into smaller lots corresponding more closely to traditional American urban real-estate divisions, see Moudon, 51–56.
29 Langley, ed., 1859, 11; Capron, 128.
30 Capron, 163.
31 *Alta California*, 10 June 1851, p. 2, col. 1; 2 Feb. 1854, p. 2, col. 3.
32 Hoadley 1854.
33 San Francisco, *Report of the Board of Engineers upon the City Grades*, 6, 8.
34 San Francisco, *In the Matter of the Application for the Confirmation of the Report of the Second Street Commissioners*, 2.
35 *Charles D. Carter's Real Estate Circular*, Feb. 1869, p. 1, col. 3.
36 Kate Douglas Wiggin (c. 1878), quoted in Issel and Cherny, 61.
37 *San Francisco Real Estate Circular*, March 1873, p. 1, col. 3.
38 Prieto, 8; Barry and Patten, 295.
39 *San Francisco Real Estate Circular*, June 1874, p. 3, col. 3.
40 Langley, ed., 1875, 12–13.
41 Bancroft, VII, 352.
42 *Alta California*, 2 March 1878, p. 1, col. 4.
43 Rykwert, 24.

Fig. 12 Mark Klett. *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill* (12 April 1990). Four of thirteen unmounted gelatin silver prints, each 50.5 x 40.7 cm (image and sheet). CCA PH1991:006–009 (see cat. no. 34)

irleton Watkins. *View of San Francisco from the Base of Twin Peaks* (negative exposed between 1866 and 1874). Albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, mounted on linen, 39.6 x 52.2 cm (image).
. 8 x 55.6 cm (mount). California State Library, Sacramento

Eadweard Muybridge and the Photographic Panorama of San Francisco, 1850–1880

DAVID HARRIS

I have the pleasure of informing you that I have just published a photographic PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO, the points of view being from the tower of the new residence of Mark Hopkins, Esq., about 400 feet above the waters of the Bay.

The day selected for its execution was remarkable for the clearness of the atmosphere; all the public buildings, hotels and banks, all the wharves, with very few exceptions, and nearly all the stores and private residences within a radius of six miles being clearly distinguishable, the whole forming a complete Panorama of the entire city, its picturesque suburbs and surrounding ranges of hills.

It is nearly eight feet long, mounted on cloth, folded into eleven sections and bound in a cloth cover nine inches wide by twelve inches high, accompanied with a key and index of 220 references. Forwarded by mail to any part of the United States, free of postage, upon receipt of PRICE, TEN DOLLARS, or unmounted, properly secured upon a roller, to any part of the world, free of postage, upon receipt of Eight Dollars, which may be sent to me direct; or preferably to some bank or mercantile house in this city with proper instructions.
Muybridge[1]

IT WAS WITH THESE WORDS IN SEPTEMBER 1877 that Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) offered his 360-degree panorama of San Francisco to prospective clients. The panorama had been made several months earlier, sometime in late June or early July, from the top of the still unfinished tower of the Hopkins mansion located at the south-east corner of California and Mason streets – then the highest point in the developed portion of the city. In addition to the advertised album described above (23 by 30 centimetres and when fully extended over 2 metres long), a second panorama was available as a set of eleven albumen prints mounted on *boudoir* cards.[2] One year later, before 8 July 1878, Muybridge re-photographed the view. This time he used a mammoth-plate camera, which took glass-plate negatives each approximately 61 by 50.8 centimetres (24 by 20 in.). The resulting panorama, published as an album of thirteen mounted albumen prints, exceeded 5 metres (17 ft.) in length.

Considered together, Muybridge's three panoramas – the two versions of 1877 (cat. nos 31 and 33) and the mammoth-plate sequence of 1878 (cat. no. 34) – represent one of the supreme conceptual and technical achievements in the history of architectural photography. Indeed, these photographs belonged to a tradition of San Francisco panoramas, and are the culmination of such earlier attempts by photographers as those by George R. Fardon (1807–86), Charles L. Weed (1824–1903), and, most notably, Carleton E. Watkins (1829–1916). At least as early as 1851 daguerreotypes had been assembled into multi-plate panoramas of the city, and by 1877 at least fifty photographic panoramas of San Francisco had been produced. All except two of these, however, were limited in their sweep to views of 90 to 180 degrees.[3] The height of the Hopkins tower provided for the first time an opportunity to survey, as Muybridge's prospectus promised, "the entire city, its picturesque suburbs and surrounding range of hills."

In the nineteenth century panoramas were luxury items, being expensive to produce and having a very limited market. The production of a photographic panorama was a complex process not limited to aesthetic and technical decisions (the choice of site, camera size, and format) but also involving the photographer's marketing strategy. While today the value of

these panoramas resides largely in the rich historical information they contain – information made all the more precious after the partial destruction of San Francisco from fires in the early 1850s and the virtually complete destruction of the city in the earthquake and fires of April 1906 – their original purpose was not chiefly historical documentation. Created as commercial objects, they quite deliberately presented San Francisco in ways intended to flatter contemporary tastes. As objects of civic pride, they celebrated at one and the same time the city (its hotels, public and commercial buildings, and remarkable private houses), its unique topography, and its astonishing growth.

THE INFLUENCE OF TOPOGRAPHY

This is, I should think, the most hilly town in the world. Laid out in squares, like other American cities, almost every vista presents a slope, with sometimes a gradient of one in six, in as much as the ground on which it is built is simply a collection of steep sandhills.

One advantage, if it be such, in this perpendicular style of architecture is that in whichever direction you walk you soon have a bird's eye view of the place.[4]

Carleton Watkins' view of San Francisco from the foot of Twin Peaks reveals this hilly aspect of the city (fig. 13). It was made about 1870. The dark soil of the farm lands in the foreground frames the distant city, which appears remote, isolated, and fragile. From this position, 5 kilometres (3 mi.) southwest of the city, only the broad outlines of the more prominent topographical features and a few buildings can be distinguished. The entire city appears as a narrow band of development stretching from the elevation of Pacific Heights at the centre left, east along the flanks of Russian Hill and of Nob Hill (previously called the Clay Street, California Street, or Taylor Street hill), and south into the wide depression running from Market Street to Mission Bay, at the extreme right. Yerba Buena Island (then known as Goat Island) is seen at the centre right. Folsom, Mission, and Market streets run outward towards the viewer. A few isolated church steeples and factory chimneys can be seen rising above the city.

Nob Hill became a site of historic importance for photography. All of the panoramas discussed in this publication were made from it, within about 100 metres (300 ft.) of one another (fig. 14). Although there were three other elevated locations within the city from which panoramas were made – Rincon Hill, Telegraph Hill, and Russian Hill – more views were taken from Nob Hill, than from all of these.[5] The reason for such a concentration over a thirty-year period lay in the particular topographical position that Nob Hill occupied within the city.

As early as 1850, three years after the naming of San Francisco, William Dougall made a three-part drawing of the city from Nob Hill, in panoramic form (fig. 15).[6] In the spring of 1851, at least five separate daguerreotype panoramas were made from Nob Hill. One by Sterling McIntyre (active 1838–55) and three by Robert H. Vance (1825–76) have been lost or destroyed.[7] The other is the earliest surviving photographic panorama from this site, a daguerreotype made between 19 January and 3 May 1851 by an unknown photographer (cat. no. 9). From a position between California and Sacramento streets, west of Powell, the photographer had an unobstructed view of the entire city: to the north lay North Beach and Alcatraz and Angel islands; to the north-east, Telegraph Hill; to the east, the docks and the retail and commercial centre of the city; and to the south, Rincon Point and Mission Bay.

The lost McIntyre panorama was apparently the first one made from Nob Hill. On its appearance, the San Francisco *Alta California* enthusiastically reviewed it in its issue of 19 January 1851:

DAGUERROTYPE [*sic*] OF SAN FRANCISCO. – Decidedly the finest thing in the fine arts produced in this city, which we have seen, is a consecutive series of Daguerrean plates, five in number, arranged side by side so as to give a view of our entire city and harbor, the shipping, bay, coast and mountains opposite, islands, dwellings and hills – all embraced between Rincon Point on the right, to the mouth of our beautiful bay on the left, included between lines proceeding from the hills to the west of the city as the point of vision. This picture, for such it may be termed, although the first attempt, is nearly perfect. It is admirable in execution as well as design. It is intended for the "World's Industrial Convention" in London. We venture the assertion that nothing there will create greater interest than this specimen of Art among us, exhibiting a perfect idea of the city which of all the world carries with its name abroad more of romance and wonder than any other. It is a picture, too, which cannot be disputed – it carries with it evidence which God himself gives through the unerring light of the world's great luminary. The people of Europe have never yet seen a picture of this, to them, most wonderful city. This will tell its own story, and with the sun to testify to its truth.[8]

Fig. 14 Detail of central San Francisco showing the sites from which the photographic panoramas were made and prominent residences. Cartographer: Richard Bachand, for CCA, 1992

1 Crocker residence, site of cat. no. 27
2 Colton residence
3 Flood residence
4 Site of cat. no. 20
5 Hopkins Residence, site of cat. nos 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38
6 Site of cat. no. 18, parts 1–6
7 Site of cat. nos 9, 11, 13, 21, 22
8 Site of cat. nos 16 and 17. Emmett residence (later Porter residence), site of cat. no. 19
9 Site of cat. no. 18, parts 7–10
10 Stanford residence, site of cat. no. 25
11 Stanford residence garden, site of cat. no. 26
12 Site of cat. no. 15
13 Property of E. Delessert, site of cat. no. 12

The article closed with an invitation to view the panorama in the newspaper's offices. The following day, the paper reported:

THE PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO. – A large number of gentlemen called at our counting room yesterday to examine Mr. McIntyre's admirable Daguerreotype panorama of San Francisco. They all expressed themselves highly pleased with it. It is certainly the only picture of any description ever produced giving anything like a correct idea of the extent of our city.[9]

Evident in these texts (the substance of which was common in contemporary accounts of panoramas from Nob Hill, such as Robert Vance's) is both the tacit agreement that Nob Hill represented the ideal vantage point from which to view the city and the then prevailing belief in the camera's objectivity and reliability, qualities which guaranteed the accuracy of that view. To the nineteenth-century mind, the camera represented a device which recorded a view mechanically and impartially without introducing the errors or distortions that a draughtsman could scarcely avoid.[10] From this one "point of vision" all of San Francisco could be seen and understood. The many factors determining the rise of the city could all be grasped simultaneously: the relationship of the harbour to the centre, the hilly topography that posed such a challenge to development, and the interdependent growth of the separate commercial and residential districts. This viewpoint made it possible to unite the city's disparate elements in a single image, both figuratively and literally: the city occupied the centre, framed beyond and at either end by views of the bay. Panoramas made from the three other sites certainly presented a vista of the city, but lacked the sense of order and symmetry obtained here. Despite vigorous urban development between 1849 and 1878, Nob Hill remained the preferred position from which to view San Francisco in its entirety. Its point of view best served the requirements of both clear topographical description and promotional civic imagery, a dual role that, from the evidence of these early texts, photographic panoramas were then understood to fulfil.

At the time of the earliest daguerreotype panoramas, Nob Hill marked the western edge of the city. At that time the limited development of San Francisco, spread out below this ridge, could easily be contained within panoramas of 180 degrees or less. As the city grew, the panoramas responded by changing both their viewpoint and the focus and extent of their coverage (see fig. 14). During the 1850s and 1860s the sites from which they were made moved westward from Dupont (now Grant Avenue) to Stockton and finally to Powell streets. At the same time, the centre of the panoramas' coverage gradually shifted southward, from Portsmouth Square in the early 1850s, to California Street by the mid 1860s, and to Market Street by the 1870s. Three panoramas made during this period – the daguerreotype panorama of 1851 (cat. no. 9), the daguerreotypes from 1855 that provided the basis for Charles Meryon's etching of the city in 1856–57 (cat. no. 16), and Carleton Watkins' albumen silver prints of 1864 (cat. no. 19) – illustrate the city's commercial growth westward and south of Market Street and the corresponding shift in the panoramas' orientation. When in 1877 Muybridge made his panoramas the city had grown considerably west of Nob Hill, and the Hopkins house now stood well within it; by then only a complete circle could encompass the entire expanse of San Francisco.

MAKING AND MARKETING PANORAMAS

In creating a panorama the photographer would normally select an elevated position, often the porch or flat rooftop of a building, and take a sequence of views with a large-plate camera designed for field work. After each exposure he would turn the camera a predetermined amount before exposing the next plate, so that each image would maintain a continuous horizon line and overlap slightly the image of the preceding plate. The process would be repeated until the panorama was complete. The individual daguerreotype plates, once developed, would be mounted into a specially constructed frame; in the case of collodion negatives, once developed they would be printed, trimmed, and mounted either in a linear sequence onto a single sheet or separately upon individual boards.[11] There were, however, some instances when the photographer physically moved his camera, in some cases considerable distances, thereby producing a panorama which was neither consistent in its viewpoint nor continuous in its coverage. In Charles L. Weed's ten-part stereographic panorama of 1858 or 1859, the photographer selected three separate vantage points (see cat. no. 18). Weed took the first six views from the porch of a house located west of Powell Street at Sacramento, and moved his camera for every other view, presumably in order to eliminate the upright supports of the porch from the immediate foreground of his photographs. He then shifted his position approximately 60 metres (200 ft.) directly south to the edge of California Street before taking, from two different positions, the

Fig. 15 William Dougall, *San Francisco in 1850* (1850). Pencil, heightened with gouache, on three sheets of paper, 18.0 x 26.5 cm (each sheet). The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

final four views. His frequent changes in vantage point may be attributed to the topography as well as to his specific intentions. If his purpose was to depict the entire city, he would have needed to change position because of the height of land between Sacramento and California streets, which made it impossible to record the extent of the city from a single vantage point. Moving from one spot to another enabled him to show Powell Street running to the bay, at one end of the panorama and, at the other end, Rincon Point (the southern edge of the quickly receding Yerba Buena Cove), Mission Bay, and the vast, undeveloped subdivisions that lay to the south toward the mission.

A panoramic photograph was not only physically arduous to make, but an expensive object to produce in a commercially competitive market. Seeing one today, reprinted in an average-size book or laid out on the walls of a spacious room designed for exhibits, it is hard to recapture the circumstances surrounding their creation. From the little surviving information in nineteenth-century account books, photographers' and dealers' catalogues, and sales records, it is evident that they were luxury items, produced in small numbers, which only the wealthy could afford.[12] In most instances, the specific circumstances underlying the creation of the panoramas remain unknown. However there is sufficient evidence of the widespread interest in the city and its growth to identify both the general purposes that panoramas served and their audiences. As the reception of the McIntyre panorama discussed above makes clear, it is impossible to separate the functions of record making – recording the nature and the development of the city – and of promotion – pictorializing the city's progress, its growth and success. Largely as a result of the context in which the panoramas were created, the functions of documentation and promotion cannot be easily or neatly separated, but are inextricably bound together.

Citizens often expressed pride in their remarkable city. The circumstances surrounding all aspects of San Francisco – its extraordinary growth, fueled by the wealth created by mining, trading, and intense land speculation; the colourful personalities and flamboyant careers of the businessmen and politicians who would build its ostentatious mansions and lavish hotels in the 1870s; and even the series of devastating fires in the late 1840s and early 1850s – created a sustained interest in the city's brief yet dramatic history. An historical, perhaps even nostalgic, interest in the city formed the natural accompaniment to its continual and very evident change. This fascination was already apparent by 1851 when this notice appeared in the *Daily Herald* of 27 September:

One of the best collections of curiosities with which returning Californians could supply themselves, would be the different engravings and daguerreotypes of San Francisco, taken at various stages of her progress.... With the extensive immigration and increase of the inhabitants of this place, the outline of the city in every few months must necessarily vary considerably, but with the fires to destroy the parts built and still further alter the appearance, it is almost impossible for a resident to recollect some of the quarters, representations of which have been lately exhibited in the windows of daguerreotypists.[13]

The daguerreotypist Robert Vance evidently recognized such interest and responded to it by including several panoramas of San Francisco within his vast and ambitious project *Views in California*. Unfortunately, all that survives of this project are two copies of the printed catalogue and reviews of the work when it was exhibited in New York City in the autumn of 1851. The catalogue lists nine panoramas, including three from Nob Hill, made both before and after the fires of 3 to 4 May and 22 June 1851.[14] A six-part daguerreotype panorama made in 1853 by an unknown photographer was also made from Nob Hill (cat. no. 11). The vantage point selected is remarkably close to the one chosen in the earliest surviving panorama from 1851 (cat. no. 9) and to the viewpoint of a five-part daguerreotype panorama made in 1851/52.[15] Although one cannot be certain, the surviving description of the missing McIntyre and Vance panoramas suggests that they too were made nearby. That so many views were made from roughly the same vantage point suggests that the production of such images met a continuous demand for up-to-date portrayals of the city.

Curiosity and a desire for information about the city was shared also by those who had never seen it. The lithographic panorama *San Francisco, 1854* (fig. 16) is typical of images produced to be sent through the mail (see also cat. no. 13). Such objects consisted of a large sheet of paper with a lithographic view printed at the top and ample space left below for writing a letter.[16] This example was sent by a writer (identified only as "Walton") to his mother. By means of the twelve numbers written on the sheet above the image, Walton specifically points out the city's public and cultural amenities, amplifying his description with a wealth of facts and figures:

Friday April 28th 1854
Dear Mother:
The above picture is a very good view of this city at the present time. The entrance to San Francisco bay, from the Pacific Ocean, is represented in the left of the picture. It is about five miles from the city to the "Golden Gate," at which place preparations are now being made for erecting a strong Fortification. From the middle of the picture, to the right, the front half of the city (nearest the bay) is all made ground, and when the buildings were erected the water flowed beneath them, they being on "Piles." Two inches directly under figure 1 is Telegraph Hill; Two-and-a-half inches under figure 2 is Mr. Meigg's Wharf (twelve hundred feet in length); Three inches beneath figure 3 is Grace Church (Episcopal); Three-and-a-quarter inches below figure 4 is about the place where I board; Three-and-a-half inches under figure 5 is the Methodist Church; Three inches beneath figure 6 is the City Hall; Two inches and three quarters below figure 7 is the Montgomery block, one of the largest buildings in the United States; Three inches underneath figure 8 is the Post Office; Two inches and three quarters beneath figure 9 is the United States Mint for California, which is now coining $150,000 per day; Two inches and five eights below figure 10 is near the locality of Le Count & Strong's Bookstore (in which I now am); Two inches and a quarter beneath figure 11 is the United States Marine Hospital, on Rincon Point; and three inches below figure 12 is the new Rassette house. The island below figure 6 is called "Yerba Buena" (Good Herb), to the right of which the upper part of "Mont Diabolo" can be seen. The bay is about seven miles wide. The distance from the foreground to the water is about one mile and a half, and the distance from Meigg's Wharf to Rincon Point is near two miles, more or less. On the other side of Telegraph Hill are some of our largest shipping warehouses. This year a new grade for the streets has been established, and in some places it is thirty feet from the front door to the pavement. There are thirteen Fire engine companies in the city, and the city is well provided with Reservoirs. On the City Hall there is a large bell, which strikes the alarm in case of fire; a man is constantly on the lookout from the roof of the building. A Ferry Boat leaves the City four times per day for Oakland; which is situated on the opposite side of the bay, and directly under figure 10. The population at the present time is nearly fifty thousand, although some persons think it is more. Of the buildings now in the course of erection, nine out of ten are being built by brick. Altogether it is a great city!
Walton[17]

Walton describes the city as if he were standing on the point from which the image was made, pointing out to his mother the sites to be seen. His reading scans across the image from left to right, and his attention to relative distances clarifies the city's size and shape. It is easy to see how in enumerating these specific buildings – the U.S. Mint, the post office, the city

hall, churches, the Montgomery Block, fire stations, and Le Count and Strong's Bookstore – the writer has consciously constructed an image of the city to reassure his mother that San Francisco is a safe yet substantial place. His preciseness in locating and identifying particular buildings – "Two inches and five eights below figure 10 is near the locality of Le Count & Strong's Bookstore (in which I now am)" – invests his description with a touching and imaginative intensity.

Although Walton's letter was written entirely within a personal context, his identification and enumeration of various brick commercial and government buildings and the city's facilities for the prevention and detection of fires was of interest to businessmen and investors in the eastern United States, and even Europe, with commercial interests in the city. Images of the city were ideally suited to allaying such concerns. It has been convincingly argued that George Fardon's *San Francisco Album* of 1856 had a clear promotional programme of civic aggrandizement (cat. no. 14). In order to counter prevailing perceptions in the mid 1850s of San Francisco as a city beset by soaring public debt and frequent bankruptcies, by political corruption and lawlessness, and by frequent and seemingly uncontrollable fires, the photographs – considered both individually and cumulatively – presented San Francisco as a stable environment in which to invest or establish a business, and as a cultured place in which to live.[18] Fardon's choice of subjects – city hall, customs house, Montgomery Block, St. Mary's Church, and three fire stations – almost exactly duplicates Walton's selection of sites. In addition, the inclusion of "Fort Vigilance" (the makeshift headquarters of the newly formed vigilance committees), the Merchants' Exchange, and the recently built subdivision of South Park would have reinforced the image of civic order and commercial opportunity. A similar purpose seems to have lain behind Charles Meryon's etching *San Francisco* of 1856–57 (cat. no. 17), derived from a five-part daguerreotype panorama of 1855 (cat. no. 16). Commissioned by the American real-estate firm of Pioche, Bayerque, and Company, it may have served to reassure the firm's French investors that their extensive real-estate holdings in the western part of the city, then under development, were indeed secure.[19] A repertory of buildings similar to that found in Fardon's album appears as border vignettes in an engraving of the city published by Frederick Hess twenty years later in 1874 (cat. no. 22), thereby continuing this tradition of civic and commercial aggrandizement.

During the course of the 1860s and increasingly in the 1870s, Nob Hill became the favoured location for the city's industrialists and politicians to

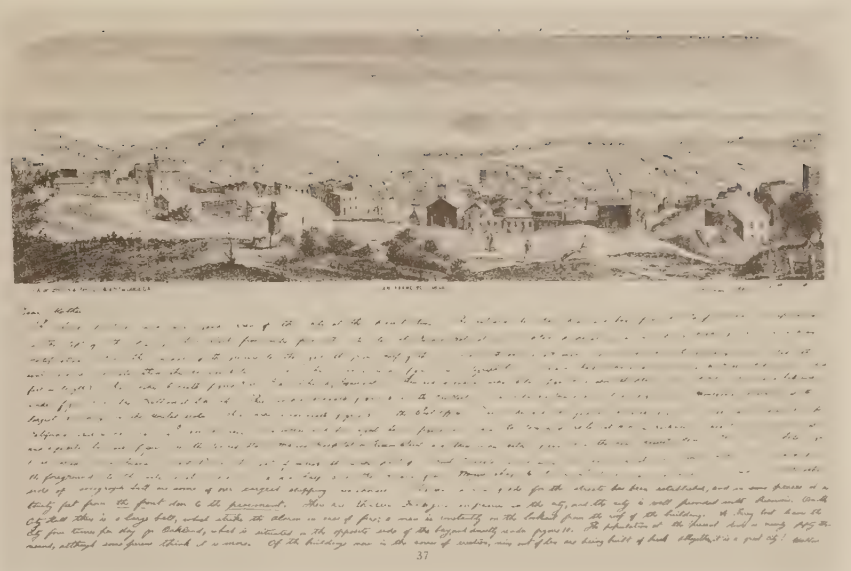


Fig. 16 Britton and Rey, lithographers and publishers, *San Francisco, 1854* (1854). Lithograph with manuscript letter. 12.6 x 42.0 cm (composition). California Historical Society, San Francisco

build their palatial mansions. To the houses of Christopher Temple Emmett and Julia Dean Hayne, constructed in the early 1860s, were added those of Richard Tobin and David Colton in 1871–72 and, in a flurry of construction between 1876 and 1878, those of Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker. Correspondingly, in the 1870s it became a common practice for photographers to make panoramas from the towers or grounds of these private houses, and to incorporate such an identification into the titles of their photographs. From whose property or house a panorama was made began to form an integral part of the representation itself, and provided contemporary viewers with a point of departure for reading the images. This emphasis upon whose view of the city the panorama represented implied access, admittedly in a voyeuristic sense, to an essentially private and privileged world.

This subtle but nevertheless profound development from the panoramas of the 1850s shaped the work of the two major panoramic photographers active in San Francisco in the nineteenth century, Carleton Watkins (1829–1916) and Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904). Each, however, resolved the conceptual and technical complexities involved in entirely different ways. Over a fifteen-year period from the mid 1860s to the late 1870s, Watkins concentrated on the 180-degree panorama using a variety of photographic formats, from stereographs to mammoth plates, exploring the distinct aesthetic possibilities inherent in each. Muybridge's activities, by contrast, were confined to only two years, 1877 and 1878, and they were focused upon the problem of creating a full 360-degree panorama.[20]

CARLETON WATKINS

Carleton Eugene Watkins was born in Oneonta, New York, in 1829. After emigrating to California in 1851 he worked briefly in the mid 1850s as a portrait photographer for Robert H. Vance and James M. Ford (1817–c. 1878), before firmly establishing himself by the late 1850s as a commercial topographic photographer. He made the first of many trips to Yosemite in 1861.[21]

As part of a series of views of San Francisco, Watkins made his first mammoth-plate panorama from Nob Hill in 1864 (cat. no. 19). The panorama was clearly taken from an elevated position, in all likelihood the porch or possibly the roof of Christopher Temple Emmett's house, located west of Powell between Sacramento and California streets. The actual creation of this panorama was arduous and time-consuming. Before beginning, Watkins had to transport a considerable amount of heavy, cumbersome yet delicate equipment to the site: cameras, tripods, glass-plate negatives, and the chemicals and baths needed to sensitize and develop each negative on the spot. (The vehicle visible in the first and fifth panels may, in fact, be Watkins' portable darkroom.) Having selected his vantage point, Watkins set up his camera and calculated in advance the number of views that would comprise the panorama. He then framed and focused the first view, a task made difficult because the image which appeared on the camera's ground glass was extremely dim, upside down, and laterally reversed. Each heavy glass-plate negative measured approximately 46 by 56 centimetres (18 by 22 in.) and had to be carefully prepared and sensitized just prior to exposure, and developed immediately afterwards before the collodion (a thick solution in which the light-sensitive silver salts were suspended) had time to dry.[22] After successful exposure and processing of the negative, the camera was shifted to the next position, either by swiveling the camera on the tripod or by pivoting or moving the entire tripod with the camera fixed to it.

Since nineteenth-century cameras and tripods had no leveling device, as they do today, even the slightest change in the ground upon which they sat would shift the camera up or down and tilt the horizon line, thereby disrupting the alignment of each image with its neighbour.[23] In this panorama, which consisted of five separate views – each with its own perspective system – the successive shifts made it virtually impossible to align both the immediate foreground and the distant horizon so that, from view to view, the space would read continuously. Watkins maintained a consistent horizon line throughout the first four images, but before exposing the final negative moved the camera (presumably southward along the porch or roof), thereby altering the scale of the nearby buildings and shifting the horizon upwards. The whole process took Watkins several hours from late morning to mid afternoon.[24]

By 1864, when this panorama was made, the view from Nob Hill was no longer a novelty, the site having served as vantage point for several panoramas, most notably the daguerreotypes of 1855 that provided Meryon with his model (cat. nos 16–17). The distinction of Watkins' work lay in how he used the city's grid street-plan to structure and frame the panorama. His viewpoint was situated just west of and overlooking Powell Street, which curves through all five parts of the sequence. The whole is framed at either end by a succession of fences, houses, and distant views of the bay. The

symmetrically receding lines of Sacramento and California streets (in the second and fourth parts) funnel the viewer's vision to the downtown business district and beyond to the harbour, that part of the city in which its source of wealth and power lay.

Watkins returned to this site in about 1873, when he made a four-part mammoth-plate panorama (cat. no. 21) and a ten-part panorama in stereocards (cat. no. 20). He may have had several reasons for doing so. As was customary for commercial topographic photographers in the nineteenth century, Watkins may have wished to update his stock of photographs in order to keep pace with the vigorous development of the city, providing his clients with more current views. In producing the stereograph set he may also have wished to increase his sales by diversifying and keeping abreast of new developments in photography. In addition to offering these panoramas in different formats, and hence at different prices, Watkins seems to have sold them both in sets and as individual views (both mounted and unmounted). In the late 1870s, when the taste for mammoth-plate views began to wane, Watkins printed smaller sections from the centre of his mammoth-plate negatives, which he sold as separate photographs – smaller images more suitable for inclusion in albums (see cat. no. 21).

Watkins' conception of the panorama changed with each new photographic format that he used. The mammoth-plate panorama he conceived as four overlapping views in which an enormous amount of detailed information about the city was recorded. With the stereocards, however, he was concerned rather with creating a specific kind of illusionistic experience. In creating a stereographic image, two separate negatives are made of the same scene from viewpoints approximately 6 centimetres (2.5 in.) apart. When the two prints are mounted on a card and viewed through a stereograph – a device that channels each eye to only one of the photographs – the images become fused to create a pronounced three-dimensional effect. For his stereographic panorama, Watkins selected a vantage point further west of Powell Street and north of California Street. From this position he took ten overlapping views pivoting his camera gradually towards the north-east through a 180-degree trajectory, from a view over Mason Street on the right to one towards Telegraph Hill on the left.

Watkins structured each of the separate views and conceived the entire panorama in conformity with the characteristics of stereography. In each stereograph there is an extended foreground with a building or group of buildings at the point at which the ground drops away (see cat. no. 20). These buildings mark the juncture between the fore and rear planes. When viewed, there is a heightened sensation of standing and looking out over, and in some of the cards even around, buildings to the city beyond. It is this impression of looking from a height out across the city, rather than becoming immersed in the details of the city itself, as occurred in viewing his mammoth-plate panoramas, that these stereocards capture. When viewed in succession, the sense of a panorama is only slowly and grudgingly created. To some degree, the pronounced spatial effect of each individual stereocard mitigates against the idea of the sequence in which each view contributes to the development of a horizontally extended vista across the city. However, the degree to which images overlap and the consistent spatial structuring of the views help to create a sense of continuity in the resulting panorama.

Watkins made two further panoramas from Nob Hill in 1877, one from the grounds of the Leland Stanford residence and a second from the roof of the Charles Crocker mansion (cat. nos 26–27).[25] Both were made with a specially designed camera which produced negatives that could be printed in two formats, as both stereographic and *boudoir* images, the *boudoir* photograph being a format of about 13 by 21 centimetres (5 by 8 1/4 in.): instead of making separate negatives with two different cameras, as was the normal practice, the same negative served for both formats.[26] In using this camera, the principle aesthetic challenge facing Watkins was the construction of a panorama that would succeed equally well as either six three-dimensional stereocards or three successfully structured *boudoir* views.

Of the two, the six-part stereograph panorama made from the Crocker residence (fig. 17) most shrewdly incorporates the perspective of its owner into the view (cat. no. 27). The first two views look north-east across Taylor Street to the bay and Telegraph Hill; the final four form a sweeping view along California Street and south across the city to Potrero Hill. There is a significant break, however, between the first two and the final four stereocards corresponding to portions of David Colton's house and the notorious "spite fence" – a 12-metre (40 ft.) wall Charles Crocker had erected along three sides of Nicholas Yung's single house-lot on Sacramento Street in an ongoing dispute over Yung's refusal to settle on Crocker's terms. That Watkins would have omitted the fence from his panorama is understandable: Charles Crocker would not have wanted to be publicly reminded of this particular defeat.

Fig. 17 Isaiah Taber, *Charles Crocker's Residence, San Francisco, Cal. A. 162* (negative exposed 1877 or later). Mounted albumen silver print, 20.5 x 30.2 cm (image), 26.9 x 34.6 cm (mount). CCA PH1983:0336

EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE

Edward James Muggeridge was born in Kingston-upon-Thames, near London, in 1830. From 1851 he worked in the United States as a commission merchant along the eastern seaboard, emigrating to California and opening a bookstore in San Francisco in 1855. A few years later in 1860, while crossing Texas en route to England, he was thrown from his stagecoach, sustaining a severe head injury that, as he later stated in a newspaper interview, turned his blond hair and beard permanently grey. It was evidently during his extended convalescence in England that he took up photography. By 1867 he had returned to San Francisco as Eadweard Muybridge and initiated an ambitious commercial photographic career, working until 1872 under the pseudonym "Helios". In 1873 Bradley and Rulofson published Muybridge's *Catalogue of Photographic Views, Illustrating the Yosemite, Mammoth Trees, Geyser Springs, and Other Remarkable and Interesting Scenery of the Far West by Muybridge:* by that date the photographer had amassed approximately two thousand views of California and such northern regions as Vancouver Island and Alaska through self-financed projects and government commissions. He had by then established a reputation as an innovative craftsman with a penchant for the dramatic.[27]

In the early 1870s Muybridge enjoyed a number of private commissions from the former governor of California (1861–63) and railroad magnate Leland Stanford (1824–93), work which led to a long-standing relationship between the two that extended to Muybridge's personal life. These included the documentation of Stanford's house in Sacramento in 1872 and in the same year Muybridge's first attempts to capture the movement of a running horse, efforts which would eventually lead to Muybridge's extensive investigations of animal locomotion. These studies were abruptly suspended when on 17 October 1874 Muybridge murdered his wife's lover, Major Harry Larkyns. Wirt W. Pendegast, Stanford's lawyer, successfully defended Muybridge during the much publicized trial. After his acquittal on the grounds of justifiable homicide Muybridge spent the remainder of 1875 photographing throughout Panama and Guatemala, working under the auspices of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, returning to San Francisco by May 1876. He subsequently presented bound copies of his Central American photographs to Wirt Pendegast's widow (her husband having died in February), F.E. Johnston (Pendegast's partner), Mrs. Stanford, and Frank Shay (Stanford's private secretary). He resumed the motion studies in 1877. It was probably

Fig. 18 Eadweard Muybridge, *View of the Stanford Residence and the Hopkins Residence (Under Construction)* (negative exposed 1877 or 1878). Wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, 15.3 x 25.4 cm. Special Collections, Stanford University Library, Stanford, Calif. (see cat. no. 24)

in 1877 that Muybridge was commissioned by Stanford to produce an album documenting Stanford's recently completed mansion on Nob Hill (fig. 18, cat. no. 24).[28]

This album consisted primarily of photographs of the interior furnishings of the house. Each room is shown from several vantage points and penciled annotations by Mrs. Stanford identify particular objects and colour schemes. The final six images in the album comprise views of the city, each identified as a vista from one of the windows in the house. Although these views can be assembled as a panorama of sorts, the resulting sequence is discontinuous (see cat. no. 25): Muybridge's intention seems to have been to create six separate images rather than an uninterrupted view of the city. The photographs succeed nonetheless in demonstrating the commanding and hence important position in San Francisco of the Stanford mansion and, by inference, of the Stanford family itself. A sense of the grandiloquent way these photographs were viewed by Leland Stanford can be sensed from an interview that he had given two years earlier to the San Francisco *Chronicle*, on 19 May 1875:

I shall hope to live to sit upon yonder balcony and look down upon a city embracing in itself and its suburbs a million of people.... I shall see cars from the city of Mexico, and trains laden with the gold and silver bullion and grain that comes from Sonora and Chihuahua on the south and from Washington Territory and Oregon on the north.... I shall look out through the Golden Gate and I shall see fleets of ocean steamers bearing the trade of India, the commerce of Asia, the traffic of the islands of the ocean....[29]

MUYBRIDGE'S PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO FROM CALIFORNIA STREET HILL

It is surprising, in light of Watkins' extensive photography from Nob Hill and Muybridge's own competitive ambitions, that Muybridge appears to have made only one image from the hill prior to 1877: the stereocard *San Francisco, from Top of California Street* (fig. 19). Muybridge had previously made a number of panoramas, including a seven-part stereographic one from Rincon Point and, among his photographs of Guatemala, an eleven-part panorama of Guatemala City.[30] Unlike Watkins, whose panoramas follow a predictable development consistent with both the practices of a commercial photographer and changes in the photographic market, Muybridge's three

Fig. 19 Eadweard Muybridge, *San Francisco, from Top of California Street, 427* (negative exposed between 1867 and 1872). Stereocard of two albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on card, 7.8 x 7.6 cm (1. image), 8.7 x 17.5 cm (card). California State Library, Sacramento

panoramas of 1877 and 1878 seem, alongside his earlier photographs of San Francisco, an extraordinary and unprecedented departure. While they now appear an integral part of his life's work, this has less to do with their subject matter than with the circumstances under which they were made and the way in which he overcame the difficulties inherent in creating a 360-degree panorama. While this subject matter was unusual for him, the resolution of certain complex conceptual and technical problems is consistent with his entire career, from his earlier landscape photographs to his later motion studies.[31]

Muybridge made two panoramas in late June or early July 1877 (cat. nos 31 and 33), both from the Mark Hopkins residence. These ambitious projects were among the first work he undertook upon his return from Central America and, in their conceptual and technical virtuosity, they must have been created in part to capture public attention and announce his renewed availability for commissions. As he had previously done with the bound sets of his Panama photographs, Muybridge presented copies to those who had already patronized him, most notably Leland Stanford.[32] Distributing these presentation copies was one means Muybridge relied upon to sustain and extend his business contacts. (When he produced his mammoth-plate panorama the following year, copies were given to Mrs. Hopkins, Mrs. Stanford, and Frank Shay.) Muybridge also advertised the album panorama in the newspapers and circulated a prospectus in September 1877. The album was sold through Morse's Gallery. An accompanying key identified the prominent commercial buildings and private residences of the city – likewise a shrewd marketing device (cat. no. 32), for the businesses and individuals listed were both potential purchasers of this panorama and possible future patrons.

In making these 360-degree panoramas Muybridge was faced with two related conceptual problems. The first was how to divide the circle of the horizon into equal segments corresponding to the available coverage of his camera lens. The second was timing: since the entire sequence of exposures required several hours to complete, Muybridge had to decide when during the day it would be most suitable to begin, so as to avoid problems of lighting. All three panoramas show him grappling with these problems. In the two panoramas of 1877, both the negative size and the focal distance and coverage of the lens were such that Muybridge was unable to divide the circumference into eleven equal segments: the final, eleventh, view in each set overlaps the first. It has been estimated that Muybridge required between

four and five hours to expose the entire sequence of negatives. He began in late morning with the view towards the south-west (the view he subsequently numbered plate 10 of the panorama) and moved in a clockwise direction (proceeding through plates 11 and 1–9), moving the camera away from the sun. By mid afternoon, when he made his final view (plate 9), the sun had moved 90 degrees. The discrepancies in the lighting between these two contiguous parts of the panorama (plates 9 and 10), which apparently went unremarked at the time, may well have bothered Muybridge.

Before making the third panorama the following year (cat. no. 34), Muybridge rethought these problems entirely. This time, by using a 40-inch (1 m) lens and a vertical format for each 24-by-20-inch mammoth-plate negative (61 by 50.8 cm), he was able to divide the circumference into thirteen equal sections so as to produce a continuous panorama with no overlap. Judging from the direction and angle of the sun, Muybridge evidently exposed the negatives over a similar period of four to five hours, with the help of at least one assistant.[33] To work at this speed (exposing a negative every fifteen to thirty minutes) represented a considerable technical achievement, considering the difficulties involved in handling glass-plate negatives of this size and weight. This time, however, he exposed the negatives in the same order as the prints appeared in the completed work, beginning with the far-left image in the set (plate 1). In that way he masked the differences in lighting, separating the first and last views (plates 1 and 13) by placing them at either end of the lengthy panorama. Unfortunately, this plan was marred by some damage that occurred to the negative of plate 7. Muybridge was forced to remake it after completing the entire panorama, in consequence of which it has an entirely different lighting from the two photographs to either side.[34]

In the prospectus that Muybridge published in September 1877 for his earlier panorama he had included a lengthy excerpt from the *Alta California* of 22 July, where the originality and grandeur of his conception had been fully appreciated:

A PANORAMIC CITY

The photograph of San Francisco, recently made by putting together a succession of views which, taken from a commanding central point, make a complete circuit of the horizon suggests to us that among the many wonderful features of our city, the panoramic character of its topography is not the least deserving of attention, though it has been overlooked, at least by people generally, until Muybridge discovered and utilized its artistic value.

Let us imagine a small ant wishing to get a comprehensive view of a painted Japanese dinner-plate. He would succeed if he could get a thimble upright in the middle of the plate, then climb to the top of the thimble and look by turns in every direction. The ant, in that hypothesis, occupies a position similar to that of the man in San Francisco, which represents the saucer, and the palatial dwelling of Mrs. Mark Hopkins, on California street hill, is the thimble. The rim of the saucer is furnished by various ridges and spurs of the Coast Range, varying in height from 300 to 3800 feet. Starting near the west we see Point Bonita the northern pillar of the Golden Gate, whence there is a gradual rise to the summit of Tamalpais, 15 miles off and 2603 feet above the sea; and beyond that, 40 miles away, we see the ridges between Petaluma and Sonoma, between Sonoma and Napa, and between Napa and Vaca Valleys, and from 15 to 40 miles distant the ridge between the plain along the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay and San Ramon Valley, and above its summit, 30 miles off, appears Mt. Diablo, the culminating peak 3856 feet high, of a more distant ridge; to the southward, eight miles away, is Mt. San Bruno, about 1300 feet high; to the southwestward, three miles off, are the Mission Peaks, 900 feet high, and nearly west is Lone Mountain, 300 feet high. Besides the prominent features visible on the line of the apparent horizon, are a multitude of others less notable below the horizon, including a large part of San Francisco Bay and its entrance, Angel, Alcatraz, Goat and Mission Islands, the Alameda Plain, with its towns, inlets and wharves, the coves, Long Bridges, wharves, and shipping of the harbor; Telegraph Hill, 300 feet high, a mile distant to the northeast; Rincon Hill, 120 feet high, a mile off to the southeast; Potrero Hill, South San Francisco Hill, and the Bernal Heights, to the southward, and the Mission Ridge, to the southwestward, all rise up in amphitheatric fashion, so as to permit their houses to see, and be seen. While the farther sides of these hills and ridges are not without their occupants, it may safely be said that the homes of more than a quarter of a million of people within this saucer-like panorama, 50 miles long and 15 wide, are distinctly visible from the corner of California and Mason Streets, 381 feet above ordinary high tide.[35]

The object of this entire description (with its curious metaphor of an ant, a thimble, and a dinner-plate) is to suggest that from one vantage point, the Hopkins house, the whole city could be perceived as a single entity in which all of its natural and urban features could be seen and ordered. Expansive and grandiose, the panorama moved from houses and buildings in the immediate vicinity of the mansion to the commercial buildings in the downtown area to the islands in the bay, and finally to the distant ridges and mountains 50 and 60 kilometres (30 to 40 mi.) away on the horizon. This

effect was reinforced by the accompanying key, identifying 221 geographical features, residences, and commercial and public buildings. The description moved through two concentric circles, as if the viewer were to pivot twice around the tower: the outer one focused upon the distant geographical features on the horizon, the inner one describing the topography nearer to hand in the bay and in the city. The description ended where it began, with the Hopkins house.

The panorama of 1878 consists of thirteen parts which are normally bound into an album and which, when fully extended, exceed 5 metres (17 ft.) in length. Because of its cumbersome size, this panorama would normally have been laid out on a long table. A certain disorientation accompanies the experience of Muybridge's panorama, presented in this manner. From such a close proximity it cannot be seen in its entirety at any one time, but only gradually, in sections, by moving laterally along it. Not only has a three-dimensional space (the city) been reduced to a two-dimensional plane, the idea of the 360-degree image is lost in the presentation of a circular sweep as a linear sequence, necessarily imposing a beginning and an end. Since a 360-degree view forms a continuous loop in which there is no real beginning, establishing one is necessary but arbitrary; the sense that the final section of the panorama (plate 13) is continuous with the first is entirely lost. To understand fully the visual information and diminish the inherent distortions found in these panoramas, the photographs would have to be displayed so as to entirely surround the viewer – a form of presentation that was standard with contemporary painted panoramas but uncommon with photographs, and there is no evidence that Muybridge ever considered presenting his work in this manner.[36] Short of that presentation, the 360-degree panorama must remain a supremely abstract depiction of the city. Moreover, because of the height from which all three of Muybridge's panoramas were made, there is no foreground in which to situate the viewer and provide an orientation to the city. Muybridge was faced with the problem of imposing some structure that would compensate for these effects.

The principal means that Muybridge relied upon in the panorama of 1878 were the dominant lines of the four streets surrounding the site on which the Hopkins house was built: Mason Street to the west, California Street to the north, Powell to the east, and Pine to the south (fig. 20). The effect of these streets is to divide the panorama into four major sections corresponding to the cardinal points of the compass; in each section, the two parallel streets to the viewer's left and right appear to converge as they recede towards the horizon, creating a strong sense of perspective. In the first three parts (corresponding to the view to the west) it is Pine and California streets; in the following four parts (the view to the north) it is Mason and Powell; in the next three parts (the east) it is California and Pine; and in the last three parts (the south) it is Powell and Mason streets. We therefore see each street twice: first the western half of Pine and then further along the panorama the eastern portion. While logically one knows that both halves form a continuous line, they appear separate and disconnected in the photographs, requiring an act of imagination to see them as one and the same.

The panorama is difficult to read as a whole even when, mounted on a wall, it can be taken in all at once. It is simply too long, the dominance of the four streets too powerful, and the details too dense to absorb simultaneously and make sense of the space. It is by concentrating upon the somewhat artificial divisions that the viewer must find his or her bearings. The predominance in the panorama of these receding streets divides the city into smaller geometrical units that alternate between triangular and inverted triangular divisions of the land. In the first three parts, Pine Street creates half an inverted triangle for that portion of the city that was south of it and, with California Street, a triangle for that portion north of it and south of California. This pattern repeats itself throughout the whole panorama. These smaller divisions, formed by two or three parts of the sequence, do not in themselves constitute logical urban units but are the consequence of the camera's position within the city grid: the panoramic format creates this way of reading San Francisco.

Muybridge's panoramas of 1877 and 1878 represented the logical resolution of all the earlier ones by showing the entire city from one position. In achieving this ambition, however, Muybridge created something quite different. His 360-degree panoramas differed from all those previously made from Nob Hill in two respects.

Firstly, in the earlier panoramas the viewpoint selected lay at the western edge of the city. Every panorama prior to Muybridge's was conceived as presenting a view of the city as seen from outside it, with the city spread out below. Even when by the middle 1870s the city had grown considerably west of Nob Hill, photographers like Carleton Watkins, for example, continued to structure the panoramas they made there as if presenting a view from the city's edge. Muybridge's panoramas from the Hopkins residence specifically acknowledged the site as being well within the city, and the panorama creates the sense of being entirely surrounded by it.

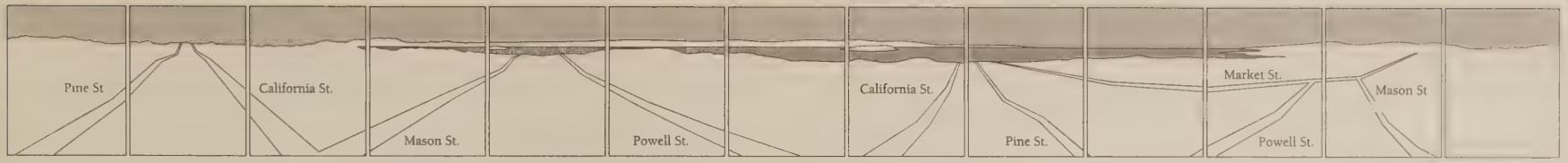


Fig. 20 Diagram of Eadweard Muybridge's 1878 *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill* showing the principal streets visible in the panorama. Cartographer: Richard Bachand, for CCA, 1992

Secondly, all previous panoramas comprised views of 180 degrees or less. By restricting themselves to a view of this extent, photographers had constructed images that, despite their length, coincided with commonly held ideas of vision. If the head is held stationary, the human eye (including indirect vision) is able to survey a field of 180 degress in a horizontal direction. Previous panoramas – even if, as was usual, they were composed of a sequence of separately made photographs, each with its own perspective system – corresponded in some ways to this conception of vision, by including only what could be seen from a single fixed position.[37] As a result, one read each one as an entity in which the left- and right-hand ends corresponded to the edges of normal vision. Muybridge's 360-degree panoramas no longer corresponded to anyone's visual experience in this sense. What they represented was what could be seen only by pivoting about in a circle, with this physical activity presented in the form of an extended linear image. The left- and right-hand ends are no longer the limits of vision, but are in fact contiguous with one another.

The complex, even contradictory nature of this experience was later described by the photographer and film-maker Hollis Frampton: "[Muybridge] condenses an entire rotation of the seeing eye around the horizon (an action that must take place in time) into a simultaneity that is at once completely plausible and perfectly impossible."[38] The radical nature of Muybridge's achievement thus lay in how the process of making the panoramas was at odds with the presentation of it. While the other panoramas had been made in the same way – as a sequence of individual photographs made consecutively – the photographers' decisions to limit their panoramas to 180 degrees or less allowed them to produce objects that continued to conform to a particular model of human vision. Muybridge's panoramas broke with this model completely.

While Muybridge's panoramas were not the first 360-degree images of San Francisco (or, indeed, elsewhere),[39] the conceptual framework for creating them may well have derived from his own contemporaneous photographic motion studies. In these studies Muybridge employed a series of cameras to record the movements of a trotting or galloping horse over a brief period of time: each exposure time and the interval between each exposure were so brief that the cameras were able to record the consecutive stages of, for example, a horse's gait.[40] The resulting photographs revealed what the human eye could not perceive. The acceptance of the evidence radically altered previously held conceptions of animal locomotion and represented the substitution of scientific, technologically generated information for visual conventions based upon human perception.[41] In a similar sense, Muybridge's panoramas presented an image in which the systematic and mechanical recording of the city changed the conventions of visual representation. It was Muybridge's understanding of the implications inherent in the photographic process that allowed him to conceive of and represent the city in an entirely new way.

While Muybridge's panoramas, in their conception and their sheer size, were more ambitious than their antecedents, they nevertheless shared with them similar commercial and cultural purposes: to create and to project an "image" of San Francisco. It is the particular manner in which these sentiments of pride and boosterism combine with the functions of description and mapping, together with the radical vision of Muybridge's images, that determine the unique character of these remarkable creations.

Prospectus, published by Morse's Gallery, 417 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, September 1877. Copy in Muybridge, News Cutting Book, 15.
The complicated relation between these two panoramas, which are not identical, is described in cat. nos 31–33.

3 As early as 1851 a 360-degree daguerreotype panorama was made at the intersection of First and Howard streets. Unfortunately, this panorama only survives in the form of eleven gelatin-silver copy prints made by Martin Behrmann in 1910 (copies in the collections of the California Historical Society, San Francisco, and the San Francisco Public Library). See Caddick and Schwartzenberg, 104–08. This panorama is closely related to a seven-part full-plate daguerreotype panorama now in the collection of the California Historical Society. See Weinstein 1968, 71–73.

A second 360-degree panorama was Carleton Watkins' *Panorama from Telegraph Hill*, a set of twenty stereograph cards (Watkins' Pacific Coast Series, nos 1338–57), produced around 1870. This panorama survives also as twenty stereo halves in the album inscribed "Amy White from her Brother Howard, Christmas 1871," Special Collections, Stanford University Library.

4 Jones, letter VI, San Francisco, 27 Sept. 1869 (n.p.).

5 This study concentrates upon the panoramas made from Nob Hill between 1851 and 1878: a comprehensive study of San Francisco panoramas would need to include those made from Rincon, Russian, and Telegraph hills, and to establish the relations of the panoramas from these sites.

6 On Dougall see Frank M. Stanger, ed., *Off for California: The Letters, Log, and Sketches of William H. Dougall, Gold Rush Artist* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1949).

7 In the preface to his *Catalogue of Daguerreotype Panoramic Views of California*, Vance described one of these panoramas as "a splendid Panoramic View of San Francisco from the heights at the head of Clay Street, taking in the whole range of the city, harbor, and bay, from Rincon Point to North Beach, with a distant view of the Contra Costa, and the Islands in the Bay." In the collection of the California Historical Society there are four gelatin silver prints of c. 1910 which reproduce parts 1 and 3–5 of a no longer extant daguerreotype panorama of San Francisco, viewed from Clay and Powell streets. On internal evidence this panorama can be dated to the spring of 1851. For these reasons, these copies may represent the Vance panorama.

Peter Palmquist is currently preparing a biography of Vance. At present, see his "Robert Vance, Pioneer in Western Landscape Photography" and "Robert H. Vance, the Maine and Boston Years (1825–c. 1850)," 199, 213.

8 This *Alta California* editorial is reprinted in Palmquist, "McIntyre, Sterling C.," 191. A review of the panorama six months later in *The Daguerreian Journal*, 1 July 1851, describes it as "representing the city as seen from the most favorable point" (ibid., 192). The fate of McIntyre's panorama is unknown; there is no evidence that it was shown in London.

9 Cited in Palmquist, "McIntyre," 191.

10 That photographs, including daguerreotypes, are in fact cultural interpretations and not in any simple sense objective, mechanical recordings is now understood. On this subject see Joel Snyder and Neil Walsh Allen, "Photography, Vision, and Representation," *Critical Inquiry* II (1975), 143–69, and Joel Snyder, "Picturing Vision," *Critical Inquiry* VI (1980), 499–526.

11 The majority of the panoramas in this study were made in this way, by far the most common method during the nineteenth century. Three, however, were made using a specially constructed panoramic camera: the panorama that provided the basis for the Delessert lithograph (cat. no. 12) and the two Waters panoramas of 1906 (cat. nos 37–38). Panoramic cameras used a rotating lens which pivoted along an elongated negative fixed to the rear of the camera, exposing it in increments. On the creation of photographic panoramas, see Bayer, 29–32.

12 On the prices of photographs in the nineteenth century, see the general remarks in Elizabeth A. McCauley, *A.A.E. Disderi and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 53–54, 236–37.

13 Quoted in Palmquist, "The Daguerreotype in San Francisco," 222–23.

14 There are copies of this catalogue at the New York Public Library, New York, and the California Historical Society, San Francisco. In the preface to his catalogue, Vance stated that the project consisted of 300 full-plate daguerreotypes. The catalogue itself listed 131 entries. Although it is difficult to be certain in each instance, the following nine entries would seem to be panoramas of San Francisco, of which numbers 13 to 15 were made from Nob Hill: "1. Panoramic View of San Francisco, from the top of Union Hotel in Portsmouth Square. Showing the surrounding country, bay, and islands. 2. Views of San Francisco, before and after the May Fire [3–4 May 1851], taken from the top of Russian Hill, north of the city. 6. Panoramic view of San Francisco, from the corner of Montgomery and Broadway Streets; before the May Fire [3–4 May 1851], showing the bay and shipping, and Mission lands in the distance. 7. View of the Burnt District, from the corner of Montgomery and Broadway Streets; four days after the May Fire [3–4 May 1851]. 8. View of the Burnt District, from the corner of Montgomery and Broadway; after the June Fire [21 June 1851]. 13. Panoramic View of San Francisco, from Powell Street. 14. Ruins of the City next day after the May Fire [3–4 May 1851], from the head of California Street. 15. Ruins of the Burnt District, from Powell Street; after the June Fire [21 June 1851]. 39. Panoramic Views of San Francisco, from the top of Telegraph Hill; showing the entrance to the Bay, from the Ocean, the opposite coast of Sancelita [*sic*], Angel Island, and entrance to San Pablo Bay."

15 The first four parts are in the collection of the Society of the California Pioneers, San Francisco; the fifth is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The panorama is reproduced in Harmon, n.p.

16 For an overview of pictorial letter sheets, see Baird 1967.

17 This letter sheet is in the collection of the California Historical Society, San Francisco. See Peters, 76–78, pl. 37, and Baird 1967, no. 239.

18 See Hales, 48–57, and Birt, 37–57.

19 See Rothrock, 2–6.

20 The contrast between the work of Muybridge and Watkins has frequently been noted. See, for example, Naef, Wood, and Heyman, 40–41.

21 On Watkins, see the biography by Peter E. Palmquist, *Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer of the American West*. Mr. Palmquist is in the process of revising this biography, and the four chapters covering Watkins' career to 1858 have now been published separately. See *The Photographic Historian* (Winter 1987–88), 1–18; *The Daguerreian Annual 1990*, 167–86; and *The Daguerreian Annual 1991*, 225–46.

22 See Munson, 33–38.

23 In order to maintain a common horizon line throughout a succession of images, photographers often marked this line, as a guide, on the camera's ground glass. Similarly, prominent vertical structures that appeared at the edge of one negative would also be marked so that, in framing the next view, the overlap would not be too great.

24 See Palmquist, "Watkins at Work," 291–325.

25 In addition to these panoramas, Watkins made two after 1877 from the property of David Porter. The first is a three-part mammoth-plate panorama in the collection of the California Historical Society, San Francisco. At about the same time, Watkins also produced a six-part stereographic panorama (Watkins' New Series nos 3729–34; copies of cards 3729–32 and 3734 are in the collection of the California State Library, Sacramento). A *boudoir* print (related to 3732 and 3733) is in the collection of the CCA.

26 This camera and the procedures for printing stereocards and *boudoir*-size views are described in cat. no. 26.

27 This highly abbreviated biographical sketch is derived from the studies of Robert Haas, *Muybridge, Man in Motion,* and Gordon Hendricks, *Eadweard Muybridge: The Father of the Motion Picture.*

28 The various Stanford commissions are described in Haas; Hendricks; Mozley 1972; and Mozley 1980, 106–24.

29 Quoted in Mozley 1972, 64.

30 The Rincon Panorama is comprised of numbers 428–34 of the Bradley and Rulofson *Catalogue of Photographic Views* of 1873 and is included in the second of three studio albums of Muybridge, entitled "Helios: The Flying Studio. Photographic Studies. Edw. J. Muybridge, San Francisco."

31 See Frampton, 69–80.

32 Leland Stanford's copy of the panorama is in the collection of the California Historical Society, San Francisco.

33 It has been suggested by Peter Palmquist (personal communication), that Charles L. Weed may have assisted Muybridge, a possibility based upon their assumed collaboration in the Yosemite photographs which Muybridge made in 1872. See Palmquist, "Charles Leander Weed, California's Peripatetic Photographer," 216.

34 For the details of Muybridge's procedure I have drawn upon Mozley 1972, 62, and Klett, 8.

35 The article, entitled "A Panoramic City and State," also included the following concluding paragraph: "As San Francisco is amphitheatric in form, with a central cone for a point of view, so the State is another amphitheatre, and Mt. Diablo may be regarded as the central cone, from which a panoramic view can be obtained, looking over a basin three hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide, over upon three bays, two large rivers, two large valleys, and many smaller ones, a metropolitan city and fifty towns, bounded on the east by a snowcapped mountain range, visible through more than four degrees of latitude, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean. Other States and cities may be greater and in many respects more attractive, but none can equal California and San Francisco in the panoramic scenic effect." The excerpt, which appeared in the prospectus, was also printed on the verso of Muybridge's *boudoir*-view version of the 1877 panorama (see cat. no. 33, fig. 38).

36 On painted panoramas see Oetterman; Hyde. On panoramas of San Francisco and California, see McDermott; Martha Sandweiss.

37 See E.H. Gombrich, "Standards of Truth: The Arrested Image and the Moving Eye" in his *The Image and the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982), 244–77.

38 Frampton, 77.

39 On photographic panoramas see Edkins; Hyde, 179–98; and Arles, Rencontres internationales de la photographie.

40 This highly abbreviated account is derived from Mozley 1972, 67–70, and Mozley 1979.

41 See Forster-Hahn.

CATALOGUE

Titles in italics are taken from original sources. With inscriptions, note use of the abbreviations l. (left), r. (right), b. (bottom), as well as the following:

u.l.	u.c.	u.r.	*upper* left, centre, and right
c.l.	c.	c.r.	*centre* left, centre, and right
l.l	l.c.	l.r.	*lower* left, centre, and right

William M. Eddy, cartographer
Britton and Rey, San Francisco, lithographers and publishers

1. *Map of the City of San Francisco*
Lithograph with applied colour, varnish, mounted on linen
1851 (survey and publication)
59.6 x 47.2 cm (map), 67.0 x 53.0 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted c.l., *COPY / OF THE / OFFICIAL MAP / of the city of / SAN FRANCISCO, / FULL & COMPLETE TO THE PRESENT DATE / Compiled by / W.T.M. EDDY / City Surveyor / January 15th 1851. / LITH. BRITTON & REY / Outer red line is Water Front line of Act of March 26th 1851. / Inner red line is Shore line*
California State Library, Sacramento, s19e San Francisco 1851

In 1849 William M. Eddy was hired to enlarge the first American survey of San Francisco, completed two years earlier by his predecessor Jasper O'Farrell (see fig. 5). In 1851, after the city was officially chartered, Eddy handed in this map, which contained revisions and extensions of his first survey. Its purpose was less to provide a picture of San Francisco as it actually existed than to offer a standardized document that might facilitate the buying and selling of city land. This map of 1851 would remain definitive for only four more years, at which time the city won its suit for title to the lands west of Larkin Street (an area known as the Western Addition) and expanded once more.

Despite the brevity of the period for which it was "full and complete," as advertised, the Eddy survey reveals all of the features basic to the plan of central San Francisco, both in its roots as a Mexican *pueblo* and in its future as a thriving American metropolis. The town's Hispanic heart lies in the blocks between Dupont Street (now Grant Avenue) and Montgomery Street, from California Street on the south to Pacific on the north. Here lies the plaza (laid out in the original *pueblo* survey of 1839 and renamed Portsmouth Square after the American takeover of 1846), and here are found the property measures that dictated the subsequent growth of the downtown area: the fifty-*vara* blocks, each consisting of six lots fifty *varas* square. (A single *vara* was 33 in. or 84 cm in length; hence a fifty-*vara* lot was about 137 ft. 6 in. or 42 m on each side.) This was a unit designed to accommodate the homesteads, gardens, and outlying ranchlands that the Mexican government had thought each family required, but it was far larger than the typical American urban lot.

From Market Street southward lies another division of streets known as the hundred-*vara* survey. Lots here – first laid out in O'Farrell's survey of 1847 – measured twice the size of those to the north of Market Street. Equally striking is the skewed orientation of the hundred-*vara* blocks in relation to the fifty-*vara* sections, a peculiarity of planning whose purpose has given rise to a line of historical speculation almost as long as the history of the city itself. Whatever the reason for its precise tilt (which quickly created a lasting rupture between the lands north and south of Market Street), the streets here were well oriented to the contours of Yerba Buena Cove (with Market Street extending directly into its centre), and also provided direct access to the settlement around the old Spanish mission (shown in the south-western corner of the survey). The streets south of Market thus represented the most efficient way of directing development between the shore of Mission Bay, on the south, and the forbidding ridge of Nob and Russian hills, on the north.

Outside this basic framework of street plans north and south of Market Street, a number of smaller details stand out in this map: the lots of the Laguna Survey of 1847, which stand alone near the north-west corner of the fifty-*vara* survey (these lots, laid out beside a small fresh-water lake, would be eliminated by the forthcoming Western Addition survey); the water lots, laid out upon the tidal flats east of the high-tide line, which served as the principal source of revenue for a cash-starved city government; the small, privately developed alleys that have begun to crop up in the middle of various blocks, dividing the unwieldy, large lots and allowing developers additional street frontage on which to build; and the "public squares" (today's Union and Washington squares) placed symmetrically on either side of the old plaza – small concessions to the public good in a landscape otherwise designed for unrestrained commerce.

References: Reps 1979, 159–60; Harlow, 99–103; Hittell, 11, 596–97, 636, 731; Moudon, 27–35; William W. Robinson.

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey

2. *City of San Francisco and Its Vicinity, California*
Engraving, mounted on linen
February 1852 (survey), 1853 (publication)
64.0 x 45.4 cm (map), 72.6 x 53.9 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted u.l., keyed index to 16 buildings and 15 reservoirs; imprinted u.r., *U. S. COAST SURVEY. / A.D. BACHE. Superintendent / CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO / AND ITS VICINITY / CALIFORNIA / From a Trigonometrical Survey by R.D. CUTTS, Assistant / Topography by A.F. RODGERS Sub-assistant / Hydrography by the Party under the command of / Lieut. JAMES ALDEN U.S.N. Assistant / Published in 1853 / Scale 1/10,000*; imprinted l.r., *The Survey for this sheet was completed in Frby* [sic] *1852. The names of / Streets are derived from the Plan of San Francisco published by Wm. M. / Eddy City Surveyor*; imprinted l.r. (below margin), *Outlines and Topography engraved by Max F.O. Strobel; Lettering by E.F. Woodward.*
Relief shown by contours (intervals of 20') and spot heights; shows drainage, buildings, cisterns, reservoirs, etc.
California State Library, Sacramento, c912 s19 1853

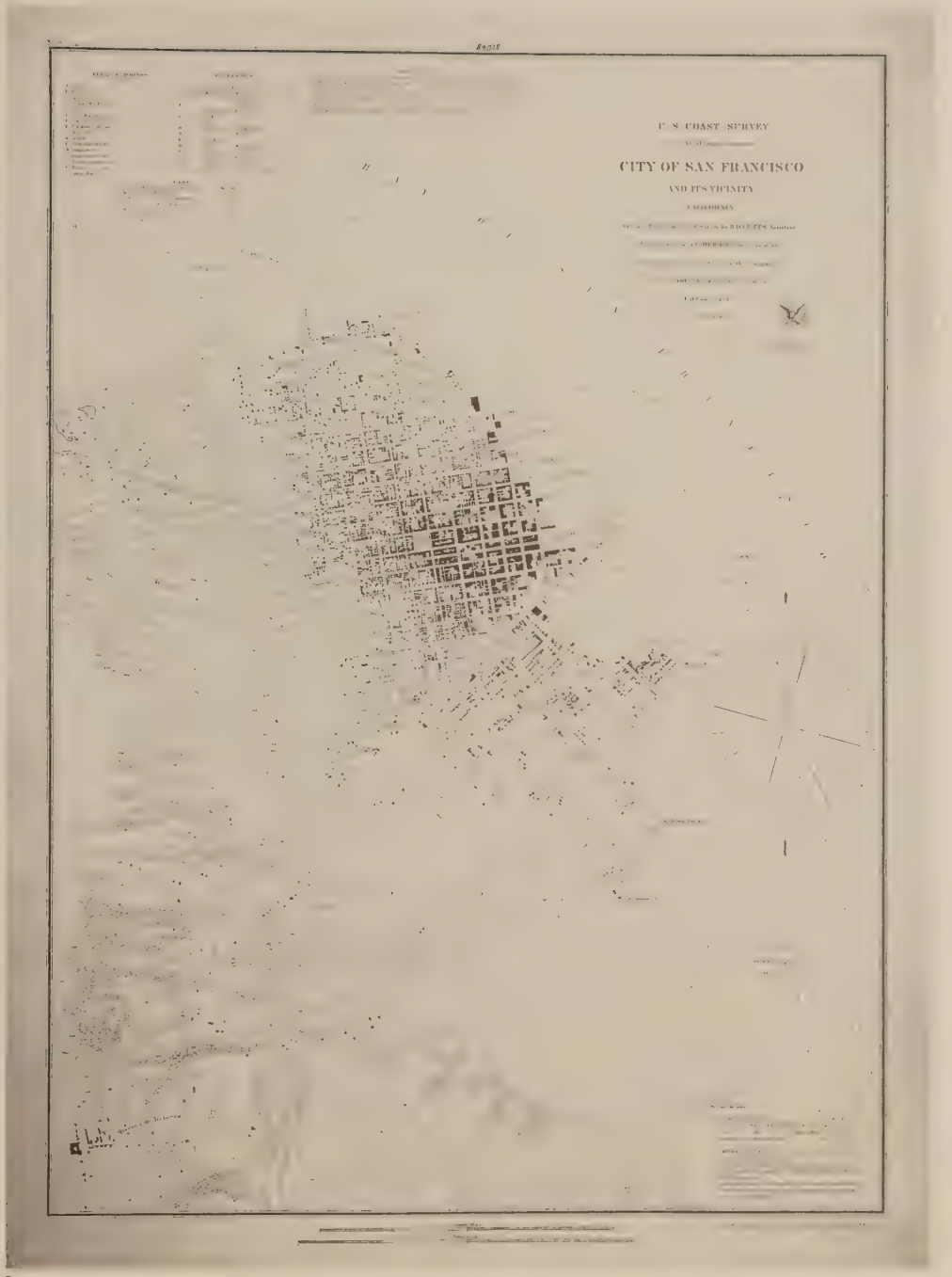
If William Eddy's map (cat. no. 1) showed San Francisco as an abstract collection of property divisions laid upon a featureless landscape (the city as it should be), the map of James Alden et al. of 1852–53 showed how that ideal picture related to the city as it actually was. The streets, lots, and blocks of the Eddy survey no longer appear to cover all that lies beneath them; instead they show up as fragile insertions into an existing landscape. This map makes clear that except for the purposes of land speculation, much of Eddy's city simply did not exist in 1852. This map constitutes the most thorough record we have of the condition of the city during the period of its post-gold-rush boom.

The Coast Survey map offers dramatic evidence of the influence of topography upon the development of the young city. Density is greatest on the flat land (much of it tidal fill) east of Portsmouth Square. What were formerly long wharves are now becoming city

streets as the water lots on either side are quickly filled with storage facilities, commission offices, and lodging houses. To the west and north, steep hills effectively limit further building activity, although a line of heavier development (eventually the route of Columbus Avenue) threads through the valley between Russian Hill and Telegraph Hill toward North Beach. The pattern of construction on the hills themselves – for example, west of Stockton Street or north of Vallejo Street – is at this point more directly related to topography than it is to the location of streets that were, at the time, little more than imaginary paths up the steep hillsides. Among those topographically oriented buildings is one on the west side of Dupont Street, north of Clay, that is in all likelihood the home of William Richardson, Yerba Buena's first resident. The angle of this building describes all that remained, in 1852, of the Calle de la Fundación – the city's first street. As historically important as Richardson's residence may have been, it is the handful of major new public buildings (structures now beginning to define a future glory rather than to memorialize the past) that are explicitly recognized in the key above the map.

The settlement outside the central blocks of the city was more dispersed still, and bore a closer resemblance to the earlier landscape of the quiet Mexican settlement. A series of high, sandy hills blocked development of the fifty-*vara* blocks south of Post Street, as well as cutting off the central city from the South of Market area. In marked contrast to the winding lines of the footpaths that led to the *presidio* (off the map to the upper left) and the mission (lower left), the Mission Street plank road represents the one contemporary incursion into the outlying lands. Significantly, the road was a private, for-profit development: it would be years before public improvements on even this relatively limited scale would be attempted in San Francisco.

References: Barry and Patten; Hittell, III, 340–42; Bache 1854, 76–79 and appendix, 55, 77–81, 165.



2

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey

3. *City of San Francisco and Its Vicinity, California*
Engraving
1857 (survey and publication)
59.0 x 86.0 cm (map)
Inscriptions: imprinted c.l., keyed index to 71 public buildings; imprinted l.r., *U.S.COAST SURVEY / A.D. BACHE Superintendent / CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO / AND ITS VICINITY / CALIFORNIA / Surveyed by A.F. RODGERS Sub-assistant / in 1857. Scale 1/10,000 / 1857*
Relief shown by contours (intervals of 20') and spot heights; shows drainage, buildings, cisterns, reservoirs, etc.
National Archives, Washington, D.C., RG23 Chart 627 ed. 2 (1857)

Even a quick glance at this map reveals the vast change that has taken place in San Francisco in the five years since the Coast Survey of 1852 (cat. no. 2). Here the downtown shore-line has finally been filled to the line represented on the Eddy survey (cat. no. 1), and all that remains of the curving sweep of Yerba Buena Cove is the stagnant, receding pool of water between Stuart and Fremont streets, south of Market. The soundings that were so prominent in the earlier map (and so essential to the marine traffic that gave the town its initial raison d'être) have disappeared; in their place is a more detailed depiction of land than even the creators of the 1853 map had attempted.

The earlier map had shown topographical gradations and roads outside of the developed section of the city. Here those features are overlain with survey lines marking the various lots, estates, and annexations of property that have been added to the city and that formed the subject of the land-claims investigations that were by this time in full swing. These investigations had not only resulted in the city's expansion (by means of the Van Ness Ordinance, which annexed the property north of Market Street west to Divisadero, approximately at the top edge of the map), but helped in a broader sense to confirm the logic of imposing a man-made, legally defined geography upon the natural geography of this barren site.

In the downtown and South of Market areas, the map clearly shows the effects of the construction boom of the early 1850s. In some places (for example, the area around Market, Sansome, and Montgomery streets) actual changes in the level of the land have allowed for new construction where none had been attempted previously. But in other places (in the elevated blocks of First and Second streets or, more extensively, along the slopes of the hills west of Portsmouth Square) the topography of the city still remains a major impediment to development.

References: Kirker, 29–85; William W. Robinson, 230ff; Bache 1858, 110–13.

TABLE OF REFERENCE
Public Buildings etc.
Union
Race Course
Mission Bay
Steamboat Point
Rincon Point
SAN FRANCISCO BAY
U.S. COAST SURVEY
A.D. BACHE Superintendent
CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO
AND ITS VICINITY
CALIFORNIA.
Surveyed by A.F. RODGERS Sub assistant
in 1857

3

FREDERICK THOMAS NEWBERY,
cartographer and publisher

4. New and Improved Street Map of the City of San Francisco. Cal.
Chromolithograph on paper, mounted on linen
1877 (survey and publication)
97.7 x 60.5 cm (map including decorative borders),
107.0 x 71.7 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted u.c., *NEW AND IMPROVED STREET MAP / OF THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. / Constructed on an Entirely New Principle. / Showing / 1. The Streets. Avenues. Courts. Lanes. Places. Alleys: their Names. Official Grades, Extent Graded. House Numbers. Fire / Alarm Numbers. Position of United States Mail and Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Letter Boxes, &c. / 2. The Public Squares. Parks. Cemeteries. Military Reservations. Fortifications, &c. / 3. Railroad Depots. Railroads. Street Car Lines. Distances in Operation. Ferry Connections. &c. / 4. Ferry Landings. Wharf Accommodation. Names of Wharves. Water-front Improvements. &c. / 5. Political Wards – Their Size. Number and Relative Positions. 6. Distances of all parts of the City from Lotta's Fountain / 7. General Directory to the Churches. Halls, Public Schools. Banks. Principal Hotels. Theatres. Public Libraries. United States / Offices. Municipal Offices. Hospitals. &c.. &c.: in the City of San Francisco. / Drawn, Compiled and Published by FREDERICK THOMAS NEWBERY, C.E. / And Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1877, by FREDERICK THOMAS NEWBERY, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.*; imprinted l.c., *MATHEWS & WARREN, COM'L ADV. PRINTING HOUSE, BUFFALO, N.Y.*; imprinted (below map), extensive listing of minor streets, Wells Fargo and Co. letter boxes, post-office boxes, public buildings, etc.
Scale 1,000 feet per inch; relief shown by contours (intervals of 20')
California State Library, Sacramento,
C912 S19 CN 1877

BY 1877, WHEN THIS MAP WAS ISSUED, San Francisco was a commercial and industrial metropolis. As residents of the only one among the nation's fifty largest cities located west of St. Louis, San Francisco merchants were able to capitalize on a huge trading region without serious competition. San Francisco was a manufacturing depot involved in the traffic of goods across the States and around the world: it refined sugar from Hawaii and milled lumber from the Northwest; it sent mining machinery to Nevada and ships to Asia. The city's banks and insurance companies dominated western finance, and its new standing as headquarters of the Central and Southern Pacific Railroads gave it an eminence in the control of transportation that was invaluable in the exploitation of western resources.

Newbery's map shows considerably more land than did the maps of the early 1850s. In addition to the old heart of the city it depicts and names the growing number of outlying, largely residential neighbourhoods that had been added to San Francisco either by legal rulings (as in the case of Hayes Valley) or by ambitious private development (the Potrero and Mission districts). Even so, the map shows only a portion of the city as it was by then surveyed and, to a lesser extent, occupied. The panhandle of Golden Gate Park, a part of which appears in the upper centre of the map, led to a massive reserve of land that stretched all the way to the Pacific, 11 kilometres (7 mi.) west of downtown. On either side of the developing park, real-estate speculators were poised for the land rush that was to follow.

Visually, the Newbery map shows neither the abstract and unvarying grid of Eddy's map (cat. no. 1) nor a natural landscape dominating the human settlement, as the first Coast Survey had (cat. no. 2). The simultaneous depiction of a thoroughly developed street plan and the uneven topography that underlay it suggests the extent to which the builders and developers of San Francisco had mastered the natural impediments that had for so long stood in their way. Horse-drawn street railroads, ferries to the East Bay, the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad, even a cable-operated street car that climbed the steep Clay Street hill – all minimized distances and improved access in and around the city. A sea wall now protected the old water lots from rising tides, and a whole new street – Montgomery (today's Columbus Avenue) – was newly cut through O'Farrell's old grid, shortening the time needed to pass to and from North Beach.

As the city grew in the 1860s and 1870s, the focus of the most intense new development had shifted southward toward Market Street, away from the crowded old blocks around Portsmouth Square. Huge luxury hotels rose where sandhills and shacks once stood. Banker William Ralston had cut New Montgomery Street south from Market in a speculative attempt (ultimately unsuccessful) to extend this southerly spread of business still further through his own property. West on Market Street, the old Yerba Buena Cemetery site had been appropriated for construction of a grand new city hall to replace the old one, a converted theatre on Portsmouth Square. That park, the symbolic and geographic heart of the city for a generation, now stood to one side of the city's destiny. Instead, Newbery chose the busy corner of Kearny and Market streets (the site of Lotta's Fountain) as the central point from which his distance-lines emanated, like a radio signal, out over the spreading urban landscape.

References: Bowden; Issel and Cherny, 13–22.

NEW AND IMPROVED STREET MAP
OF THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
Constructed on an Entirely New Principle.
SHOWING
Drawn, Compiled and Published by FREDERICK THOMAS NEWHERY, C. E.
PARK
BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO
TABLE OF REFERENCE TO MINOR STREETS, ALLEYS &c
EXPLANATION.
SAN FRANCISCO FIRE ALARM BOXES
TABLE OF REFERENCE
United States Post Office Letter Boxes.
GENERAL DIRECTORY OF THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

4

Joseph Britton, designer
Britton and Rey, San Francisco, lithographers and publishers

5. *Bird's-Eye View of San Francisco*
Lithograph on blue wove paper
July 1852/1853 (drawn and publication)
25.0 x 44.3 cm (composition), 28.5 x 46.5 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted l.l., *LITH. & PUBLISHED BRITTON & REY, SAN FRAN^CO.*; imprinted l.c., *Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1852 by Cooke & Le Count in the Clerk's Office of the U.S. Dist^r. Court for the Nort^n Dist^r. of California / BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO / Drawn from Meream's Model & Nature July 1852.*
California State Library, Sacramento

Taken together with the contemporaneous Coast Survey map of 1853 (cat. no. 2), this bird's-eye view suggests the variety of ways that information about the appearance of a city can be conveyed. Like the map, the view combines architectural and topographical data; like the map too it shows the city contained compactly within a larger landscape. As rapidly as San Francisco was growing, it was still dwarfed by the natural features that surrounded it – and to no scenic effect. The view shows the city that one observer of the time characterized as consisting of "nothing but long rows of buildings, clouds of dust, busy crowded streets, and sand hills."

The artist took pains to represent faithfully the architectural state of the city, but was nonetheless free to take certain liberties not available to the engineers of the Coast Survey. Most important, if least obvious, is the choice of a single point of view, which creates an inevitable focus and gives a sense of hierarchy to an otherwise indifferent grid. The imaginary view is centred above Commercial Street, which runs into the water as Central Wharf. This street was the backbone of commercial activity in 1850s San Francisco. By focusing upon Commercial Street and by describing with the greatest care the buildings on the densely developed blocks to either side of it, the artist made it harder to depict the entire waterfront from Rincon Point at the southern end of Yerba Buena Cove to Telegraph Hill on the north. It was only by eliminating several of the blocks in the North Beach section and by reducing the size of Telegraph Hill that he was able to fit in the entire view.

Looking in from the bay also serves to present the city as a progressive accretion of activities commencing at the water and working inland. The picture offers us a view from the Pacific in the distance, through the Golden Gate, around Telegraph Hill, and into the crowded harbour, where more than a thousand ships anchored each year. Dominating the shore-line (which already extended some four blocks east of its original location) are the warehouses that stored goods off-loaded or ready for on-loading. Further south, also beside the water, stand the prefabricated houses brought to the site by William Howard in 1849 – a real-estate venture that made sense only in a city where building materials and skilled labour were still precious commodities. Inland from the shore stand public and commercial buildings like the new customs house (the large porticoed building three blocks north of Commercial Street), the City Hall (one block north of Commercial, facing the open space of Portsmouth Square), and the Oriental Hotel (just north of Market Street). West of this intermediate zone, houses and churches dominate the sparse skyline. The line of development peters out, as the Coast Survey map showed, in a line corresponding to the slope of Nob and Russian hills rather than to any particular street. Past that line, street grades disappear and the "desert" of sandy rolling hills – a landscape that never failed to disappoint early visitors to the city – spread west to the ocean.

References: Baird and Evans, cat. no. 24; Reps 1984, cat. no. 266; Baird 1967, cat. no. 12; Bowden; Capron, 128; Lotchin.

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO
Drawn from Moreau's Model & Nature July 1852

5

CHARLES B. GIFFORD, designer and lithographer
ROBINSON AND SNOW, San Francisco, publishers

6. *San Francisco, Bird's-Eye View*
Tint lithograph
1 July 1864 (publication)
65.3 x 101.0 cm (composition), 73.9 x 118.2 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted l.l., *DRAWN & LITHOGRAPHED BY C.B. GIFFORD*; imprinted l.c., *Entered according to act of Congress in the year of 1864, by Robinson & Snow, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Northern District of the State of California / SAN FRANCISCO. / BIRD'S EYE VIEW. / Published July 1st 1864 by ROBINSON & SNOW, Washington & Sansome St. S.F.*; imprinted l.r., *PRINTED BY L. NAGEL*
The New-York Historical Society, New York

UNKNOWN LITHOGRAPHER

7. *Key to Robinson and Snow's View of San Francisco*
Lithograph
1 July 1864 (publication)
20.5 x 34.2 cm (composition), 29.4 x 38.0 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted u.c., *KEY / TO / Robinson & Snow's / VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO, / 1864*; imprinted b., numbered key to 101 points of interest included in view
Coll. Joseph A. Baird, Jr.

TAKEN FROM AN IMAGINARY west-facing vantage point similar to the one employed in the 1852 bird's-eye view (cat. no. 5), this substantially larger lithograph (with its detailed accompanying key) shows the dramatic effects of a decade of expansion, both upon the actual landscape of the city and upon the way that that landscape was perceived in its time. No longer a loose collection of distinct, disjointed buildings set precariously at the edge of an overpowering landscape, the city is now presented as an ensemble of row after row of crowded blocks dominating and minimizing the features of their site. Where the densely built section comes to a halt in the distant west, the landscape is rendered more accurately than it had been in the earlier view. Rather than appearing as an uncharted and indistinct wasteland, it has become something akin to what the townscape itself seemed in 1852: a hodgepodge of distinct regions and isolated features awaiting some kind of unifying development.

The Gifford view of 1864 does, in fact, capture the city at a time when some of the more problematic features of the landscape were being turned from insuperable obstacles into scenic adjuncts, or at worst, minor annoyances in the streetscape. The formerly crescent-shaped cove is now almost filled, and brick buildings stand where ships once lay at anchor. The troublesome Rincon Hill, at the left-hand edge of the view two blocks west of the cove, would soon be reduced, speeding the end of that area's brief spell as a wealthy residential enclave. After 1870, the Outside Lands decision would open the land west of Divisadero Street for development, and a huge portion of that land – in the low saddle between Twin Peaks and Lone Mountain – would be irrigated, shaped, and landscaped to become Golden Gate Park. The San Francisco and San Jose Railroad, completed in January of 1864 and visible at the far left, promised to reduce the isolation between the city and the fertile inland valleys that became a major source of San Francisco's wealth.

The viewpoint of this 1864 view differs in one small but telling way from Britton's view of 1852 (cat. no. 5): the artist now centres his sight not on the old city centre around Commercial Street and Portsmouth Square, but south of Market Street, in the fast-developing blocks of the hundred-*vara* survey. There stood up-to-date fireproof storage facilities (including one, Hathaway's Warehouse in the lower left corner of the image, that still stands today in the shadow of the Bay Bridge); large industrial plants like the Union Iron Works at First and Mission streets or the California Sugar Refinery, standing by itself at the remote corner of Eighth and Harrison streets; and, increasingly, the dense working-class housing that would define the area's character for another century.

References: Reps 1984, 177–78, cat. nos 297–98, pl. 49; Baird and Evans, cat. nos 39a–b; Bancroft, VI, 782, VII, 75–101; Harte; Aberbach.

C.R. Parsons, designer
Currier and Ives, New York, publishers

8. *The City of San Francisco, Bird's-Eye View from the Bay Looking South-West*
Chromolithograph
1878 (publication)
53.1 x 83.2 cm (composition), 63.9 x 89.4 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted l.l., *PUBLISHED BY CURRIER & IVES, 115 NASSAU ST. NEW YORK*; imprinted l.r., *SKETCHED & DRAWN BY C.R. PARSONS*; imprinted b., *COPYRIGHT 1878, BY CURRIER & IVES, NEW YORK* / 73 buildings and geographical features, listed below / *THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO / BIRDS EYE VIEW FROM THE BAY LOOKING SOUTH-WEST*
The New-York Historical Society, New York

At a time when the panoramic photographs of Muybridge and Watkins were providing San Franciscans with meticulously detailed views of the city, C.R. Parsons' 1878 bird's-eye view offered an image whose distorted perspective sacrificed realistic effect for a comprehensiveness and iconic clarity that were beyond the reach of conventional photographic techniques.

The Parsons view captures the city through a roughly spherical lens that allows the artist to sweep from the Pacific, seen at the top of the print, down the San Francisco peninsula to the southern end of the bay, on the left. Through the dominance of steam-powered shipping (handling a tonnage of goods more than twice what it had been a decade earlier) and improved rail connections (the Southern Pacific line, which had bought out the old San Francisco and San Jose route along the peninsula, now connected the city to points all along the California coast, just as Central Pacific routes connected it with inland destinations), the city has evolved from a peripheral outpost of trade networks based in Boston or New York to become the central point of a vast network of commerce and production.

At the centre of this centre, as it were, Parsons shows the dense cluster of towers that have developed in the relatively wealthy neighbourhoods west of downtown, running in a line from the uncompleted City Hall at Market and Larkin streets, north to the churches concentrated west of Union Square, and on to the new mansions of Nob Hill. To either side of this cluster, the city has changed in distinct ways. Downtown, where an absence of elevators and a reasonable fear of earthquake damage combined to limit the height of new buildings, the skyline was being reshaped by massive new projects like the Appraisers' Building (behind the old customs house), the Selby shot tower (which dominated the South of Market area), and especially the Palace Hotel at Market and New Montgomery streets. In contrast to the downtown of a generation later, however, the central district was still an architectural ensemble marked by uniformity rather than by self-conscious distinctiveness. On one street after another, one visitor reported, "the walls are unbroken by rows of windows, all of the same size, all with green blinds."

West of the City Hall–Nob Hill line, new construction took on a different complexion. In the Western Addition (north of the diagonal swath of Market Street) and the Mission District (south of Market), comprehensive developer-builder firms like the Real Estate Associates pooled the small investments of thousands of would-be homeowners to create large tracts of single-family homes at a scale and density far more suburban than would have been feasible on expensive downtown property. Further west still, a collection of cemeteries – Laurel Hill, Calvary, and Masonic – and beyond them the expanse of Golden Gate Park, showed how the hand of man could turn a natural landscape that had for years seemed both forbidding and useless into a "naturalistic" landscape, as carefully contrived and as geared for human comfort and convenience as the most elegant downtown hotel.

References: Reps 1984, cat. nos 333–34; Baird and Evans, cat. nos 58a–b; Bancroft, VII, 126; Bloomfield; Prieto, 8.

SAN FRANCISCO.

KEY

VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO,

1864.

1 Golden Gate
2 Pt. Bonita
3 Fort Point
4 Presidio
5 Black Point and Fortifications
6 Pioneer Woollen Mills
7 Ocean Beach Road
8 Meiggs Wharf
9 Burr's Wharf
10 North Point
11 Telegraph Hill (294 ft.)
12 N.a P. Dock & Warehouse
13 Lombard Dock
14 Greenwich Dock
15 India do.
16 Cowells Wharf
17 Vallejo Street Wh.f
18 Broadway St.
19 Pacific "
20 Jackson "
21 Washington "
22 Clay "
23 Long Wharf
24 Market St Wh.f
25 Mission "
26 Stuart " Lumber Wh.ves
27 P.M.S.S.Co's Wharf
28 Moore & Co.s Wharf.
29 Hathaway's "
30 Ship Aquila sunk with Comanche on board.
31 Mowne Hospital (Beacon Pt.)
32 St. Mary's Hospital
33 South Park
34 Steamboat Point
35 Mission Bay
36 S.F. Sugar Refinery
37 Potrero
38 S.F. & S.Jose Rail Road
39 Mission Woollen Mills
40 Jewish Cemeteries
41 New Ocean House Road
42 Mission Dolores
43 Prot. Orphan Asylum
44 Hayes Valley
45 Yerba Buena Park
46 Ladies Protection and Relief Society Building
47 Calvary Cemetery R.C.
48 Lone Mountain
49 " Do. Do. Cemetery
50 Presidio & Cliff House Road
51 Point Lobos
52 Larkin St Church
53 Johson Observatory, (Russian Hill)
54 Clay St Hill 376 ft.
55 2nd Cong.l Church
56 Union Square
57 Stone Kings Church
58 St Ignatius Church
59 Howard St. Meth.t Ch.
60 Ch. of the Advent
61 Masonic Temple
62 Lick House
63 Occidental Hotel
64 Cosmopolitan Hotel
65 Russ House
66 Calvary Church
67 Grace Cathedral
68 St. Mary's Cathedral
69 1st Congregational Ch.
70 1st Presb.n Ch.
71 1st Baptist Ch
72 Powell St M.E. Ch
73 Portsmouth Sq.
74 City Hall
75 Custom H. & P.O.
76 Mariner's Church
77 St. Francis Do.
78 Washington Square
A Brannan Street
B Bryant do.
C Harrison do.
D Folsom Street
E Howard Do
F Mission Do
G Market Do
H Turk Do
I Eddy Do.
J Ellis Do.
K O'Farrell Do
L Geary Do
M Post Do
N Sutter Do
O Bush Do
P Pine Do.
Q California Do.
R Sacramento Street
S Clay Do.
T Washington Do.
U Jackson Do.
V Pacific Do.
W Broadway Do.
X Vallejo Do.
Y Green Do.
Z Union Do.
a Filbert Do.
b Greenwich Do.
c Lombard Do.
d Chestnut Do.
e Bay Do.

THE CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO.
VIEW FROM THE BAY LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.

UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER

9. Partial Panorama of San Francisco
5 daguerreotypes individually framed, each rectangular frame with gold mount and scalloped or rounded corners, modern resealed support
Between 19 January and 3 May 1851 (daguerreotypes made)
Overall 10.7 x 68.7 cm (unframed)
International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester, New York, 79.3101.1–.5

9.1 View Towards North Beach
8.2 x 11.7 cm (image, sight), 10.7 x 13.9 cm (plate)
9.2 View of Telegraph Hill
8.7 x 11.8 cm (image, sight), 10.7 x 13.8 cm (plate)
9.3 View Showing a Portion of Goat Island
8.6 x 11.7 cm (image, sight), 10.7 x 13.9 cm (plate)
9.4 View Down Sacramento Street
8.7 x 12.0 cm (image, sight), 10.7 x 13.9 cm (plate)
9.5 View Towards Rincon Point
8.6 x 10.2 cm (image, sight), 11.7 x 13.9 cm (plate)

THIS IS THE EARLIEST SURVIVING daguerreotype panorama made from Nob Hill. The maker is unknown. It was made from an elevated site (in all likelihood the roof or porch of a house) located west of Powell Street, between Sacramento and California streets. It embraces a view of approximately 120° from Angel Island and North Beach (to the north, visible in the first part on the left) through Rincon Point (to the south-east, visible in the last part on the right).

The panorama can be dated to the period between 19 January and 3 May 1851. The First Presbyterian Church, located on Stockton Street between Broadway and Pacific (visible at the centre left of the second part), was dedicated on 19 January. The two beached storage ships, the *Niantic* (located at the north-west corner of Sansome and Clay streets) and the *Apollo* (at the north-west corner of Battery and Sacramento streets – visible in the fourth part), were both destroyed in the fire of 3–4 May 1851.

References: Harmon 1964, n.p., repr.; Weinstein 1967, 34–35, repr.; Birt, 23–24.

9.2

9.3

9.5

Samuel Francis (Frank) Marryat, designer
b. 1826; d. London 1855
M. and N. Hanhart, London, lithographers
Henry Squire and Co., London, publisher

10. *San Francisco*
Chromolithograph with added colour
1 July 1851 (publication)
41.8 x 64.5 cm (composition, top rounded),
49.4 x 68.8 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted l.l., *S.F. MARRYAT. DEL^{T}.*; imprinted l.c., *SAN FRANCISCO.*; imprinted l.r., *M. & N. HANHART CHROMO LITH IMP^{T}. LONDON*
Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., PGA D HANHART

This print was published in London on 1 July 1851 by Henry Squire and Company. It was based on a drawing (which is no longer extant) by Samuel Francis (Frank) Marryat, a British journalist who arrived in San Francisco during the fire of 14 June 1850, which destroyed the blocks south and east of Portsmouth Square.

The purpose of Marryat's print was not primarily topographic and descriptive; indeed, the artist's viewpoint and the precise architectural appearance of this portion of the city can be only uncertainly reconstructed from the image. Assuming that the open space with the American flag (visible at the left side of the print) can be identified as Portsmouth Square and that the wharf (in the centre) is Central Wharf extending into the harbour from Commercial Street, then the vantage point would be west of Dupont Street (now Grant Avenue), between Commercial and Clay streets. This was the site on which William Richardson and Jacob Leese, the first residents of the town of Yerba Buena, had settled some fifteen years earlier.

In drawing this panorama Marryat created an idealized, visually layered image of San Francisco, one that would evoke for an interested British audience the social composition and the architectural nature of this distant city. The frieze of occupational and national types spread across the foreground – trappers, miners, Chinese, and Mexicans – suggested a racially diverse, socially mixed, predominantly male population in which women (only three are shown in the print) were rare. The jerry-built or pre-fabricated wooden buildings, scattered about seemingly at random, indicated the newness and rawness of the city. The ships that fill the harbour and outnumber the buildings on land give some indication of the astonishing influx of speculators, merchants, and travelers that came in the wake of the discovery of gold in 1848 in the Sierra Nevada foothills. Marryat's view captures the new city at a time when the numbers of people arriving and departing far exceeded the numbers of those who chose to stay. The distant (topographically exaggerated) mountains of Contra Costa, etched by the rising sun, evoked the remoteness and physical isolation of this outpost a half a continent away from the nearest urban culture.

The strength of the tradition of the topographical print lay in its ability to simultaneously describe and comment upon its subject, in this case, the urban character of San Francisco. At the same time, its weakness lay in its inability to provide the viewer with a means of separating the aspects of description from those of opinion. The advent of photography would begin to distinguish these two functions from one another more clearly.

References: Baird and Evans, cat. no. 72; Reps 1984, cat. no. 258; Deaka, I, 421–22, II, pl. 623; Barry and Patten.

UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER

11. *View of San Francisco, 1853*
6 daguerreotypes, mounted in frame
1853 (daguerreotypes made)
14.3 x 20.6 cm (each image, sight),
overall 41.9 x 151.1 cm
Repr. of image only
The Oakland Museum, Oakland, California

This six-part panorama probably dates from the early months of 1853, when the excavation for the foundations of the Montgomery Block (located on Montgomery Street and visible in the third part from the left) had begun; the building was completed in late 1853. The similarity in both vantage point and extent of coverage with the earlier daguerreotype panorama of 1851 (cat. no. 9) – indeed the two panoramas may have been made from the roof or porch of the same building – initially masks the fact that the panoramas describe two quite different stages of the city's growth.

Separating the panoramas were two major fires of 3–4 May and 22 June 1851, which leveled large portions in the city south of Broadway and east of Stockton Street, leaving few recognizable buildings common to both panoramas. By 1853 brick had largely replaced wood and canvas as the principal building material in the centre of the city. Residential development had moved further west and north towards North Beach and Russian Hill, as well as south into the Happy Valley district. Powell Street, at the western limit of the area of most intense development, was already identifiable as the site of a number of the city's churches.

References: Harmon 1984, n.p., repr.; Weinstein 1967, repr. 36–37; Birt, 28–29; Oakland, Oakland Museum, 16–17, repr.; Mazzi 1974, 72–82.

SAN FRANCISCO

10

UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER AND LITHOGRAPHER
M. KNOEDLER, New York, publisher

12. *San Francisco from California Street, Drawn from a Daguerreotype, the Property of Eug. Delessert Esq.*
Tint lithograph
1853 (publication)
23.8 x 86.2 cm (composition)
Inscriptions: imprinted l.c., *Entered According to Act of Congress in the Year 1853 by M. Knoedler in the Clerk's Office of the district Court of the United States for the Southern district of New York / SAN FRANCISCO. / From California Street, Drawn from a Daguerrotype* [sic], *the Property of Eug. Delessert Esq^re*; imprinted l.r., *Imp. Lemercier, Paris*
The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 19xx. 178-FR

THIS PANORAMA WAS MADE from the north side of California Street between Stockton and Dupont (now Grant Avenue). The print was copyrighted in 1853 – the copy at the Library of Congress is inscribed in ink "668 / Deposited in Clerk's Office So. Dist. N.Y. / Sept 24 1853." The daguerreotype from which the lithograph was derived, however, would have been made earlier, allowing time to send it to Paris for printing. Since there is no evidence of any clearance on the site of the future Montgomery Block, undertaken early in 1853, 1852 would seem a more probable date for this view of San Francisco.

The lithograph combines the characteristics of the daguerreotype with the pictorial conventions of the topographical print tradition. The depiction of the city has the clarity, precision, and visual authority associated with photography. Nevertheless, a comparison of the view with the contemporaneous Coastal Survey map (cat. no. 2) suggests that the artist felt free to include or exclude buildings as he saw fit. His artistic license is nowhere shown more clearly than in the stylized foreground, staffed with the same national types as had appeared in the earlier Marryat print (cat. no. 10), and dressed up in the picturesque conventions of the print tradition.

Eugene Delessert, the owner of the original daguerreotype, was a banker whose offices are listed in Morgan's *City Directory* of 1852 as 176 Montgomery Street. In 1856 his residence appears in *Coleville's City Directory* as "Dwl Calá bet. Dupont and Stockton," which would correspond to the area in the foreground of this image.

References: Reps 1984, cat. no. 271; Baird and Evans, cat. no. 31.

12

SAN FRANCISCO, 1854.

Fig. 21 Britton and Rey, lithographers and publishers, *San Francisco, 1854. Fire of July 11th* (1854). Lithograph on grey wove paper, 12.6 x 42.0 cm (composition). Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

UNKNOWN DESIGNER
BRITTON AND REY, San Francisco, lithographers and publishers

13. *San Francisco, 1854*
Lithograph with manuscript letter on thin grey wove paper
1854 (publication)
12.6 x 42.0 cm (composition), 26.9 x 42.2 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted l.l., *Lith. of Britton & Rey Cor Montg.y & Comm.l Sts.*; imprinted l.c., *SAN FRANCISCO; 1854.*; stamped l.r. in blue, *NOISY CARRIERS PUBLISHING HALL / 77 LONG WHARF SAN FRANCISCO / CHARLES P. KIMBALL PROPRIETOR*; inscribed b. in ink, the letter transcribed below
The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1963.2 128-B

THIS LITHOGRAPHIC VIEW depicts the city from a vantage point west of Powell Street and north of Sacramento Street. As a panorama it encompasses virtually the same amount of the city as the 1853 daguerreotype panorama (cat. no. 11). The Montgomery Block is now completed.

The lithograph has been annotated with fifteen numbers and carries, below the image, a description of the city: "The high point (No. 1) at the north end of the city is Telegraph Hill, & the point here where the gentleman & lady are standing / is nearly as high as that. (I mention it because in the engraving, it does not seem so high). The island (No. 2) is Yerba Buena; directly east of the / northern part of the city. No. 3 is Monte Diabolo, twenty-five miles distant; the Coast Range of mountains lies between. The island (No. 4) should be a / little more to the right; it is Alcatraces [*sic*] (four syllables). Directly behind Telegraph Hill is the opening of the bay, by the side of Angel Island (No. 5), leading / up to Sacramento. From No. 6 the bay stretches south to San José (Sanosáy). No. 7 is Russian Hill, a continuation of the one on which we stand looking / out. I have marked with a dotted line the course of the steamers as they come in from sea. You see they pass along on the north of the city, / heading nearly east, till they are beyond Telegraph Hill, & then wheel directly south to their wharf, & scarcely any part of the city is visible till / you come around on the east side of it. No. 8 is the City Hall, & right in front of it is the open space which they call the Plaza. It is at present / in poor condition, but will one of these days be an ornament to the city. No. 9 on the upper side of the Plaza, stands where the famous old Adobe (ad-óh-bay) / building was. The Adobe was the old Mexican custom house, & it was from a window of it that the first man was hung in the Lynch law times here. No. 10 is / Montgomery Block; my office where I am now writing is on the north side of it looking into Washington St. which you see running where I have / drawn a line. No. 11 is the house we

live in now, & No. 12 is about where we expect to be in Stockton St. That part of the city is / not drawn quite accurately. No. 13 is Happy Valley where Mrs Butler lives, though we hope to have her up on the hill before long. / The streets which come up from the water run as nearly east & west as may be, so that you may get the points of / compass from them very easily. Montgomery St. which runs north & south in front of Montgomery Block is the great business / street, corresponding to Wall St. of New York, or State St. of Boston. There we find plenty of brick & stone buildings, & in some / of the streets below; above it the greater part are of wood, & most are built very slight indeed. In many cases the / partitions are only cottoncloth nailed on the joists & papered over, even in houses which look very nice outside. — The shore all / along No. 14 is Contra Costa. No. 16 is the passage out to the Golden Gate, which is about six miles further west than the engraving / extends."

Lacking a salutation and a date, this letter is in all probability addressed to someone for whom the city is an unknown and exotic place. Assuming the position of the "gentleman & lady," the writer describes the city as if he and his reader were standing together looking out on the city and observing its features; his narrative mingles general information with aspects from his own business and domestic life.

The foreground figures – the gentleman and lady, an artist sketching the view, couples strolling about – form a far more socially homogeneous group than the diverse crowd depicted in the earlier prints (see cat. nos 10 and 12). Their refined appearance, together with the increasing permanence of the architectural landscape, suggest a more urbane image of the city than previous panoramic prints had presented.

This particular image proved adaptable to different purposes. The same lithographic stone, with local alterations, was used to produce prints commemorating the fires of 11 July 1854 and 18 February 1855 (see fig. 21). The image also formed the basis for a woodcut published in Frank Soulé's *The Annals of San Francisco* of 1855.

References: Baird 1967, cat. no. 239.

George Robinson Fardon, photographer
b. Birmingham, Great Britain 1807; d. Victoria, B.C., Canada 1886
Herre and Bauer, San Francisco, publishers

14. *San Francisco Album*
Octavo album (26.2 x 21.4 x 2.0 cm) of 32 salted-paper prints mounted on 31 leaves of buff wove paper (each leaf 25.6 x 20.6 cm)
1856 (publication)
Full black straight-grained sheep binding with gilt title (*SAN FRANCISCO / ALBUM.*), outside fillets and dentelles; letterpress half-title (*SAN FRANCISCO / ALBUM.*), title page (*SAN FRANCISCO ALBUM. / PHOTOGRAPHS / OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL / VIEWS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS / OF / SAN FRANCISCO. / Photographed by G.R. FARDON. / PUBLISHED BY / HERRE & BAUER, / AT THE OFFICE OF THE SAN FRANCISCO JOURNAL, / 66 MERCHANT STREET*), and index describing title vignette and listing 30 numbered views; title page and each plate preceded by a guard tissue; plates have stamped numbering; name of owner inscribed in ink on front free endpaper (*Louise Bauer / Nobr. / 1856*); date inscribed on title page (*1856*); captions in German inscribed under image in ink (transcribed below)
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, PH1979:0355:001–032

14.1 *Merchants' Exchange, on Battery Street*
1855 or 1856 (negative exposed)
15.7 x 20.5 cm (image)

14.2 *Battery Street*
1856 (negative exposed)
15.2 x 20.1 cm (image)

14.3 *City Hall*
May 1855 (negative exposed)
16.1 x 20.3 cm (image)

14.4 *Former Post Office, the rally of the "Law and Order" Party*
May 1855 (negative exposed)
16.1 x 20.6 cm (image)

14.5 *Monumental Engine House, on the Plaza*
July 1855 (negative exposed)
20.7 x 15.6 cm (image)
Repr. of image only

The San Francisco Album contains 31 photographs which fall into three types of views: views of commercial, civic, and government buildings; elevated street views (made from second-storey vantage points along Battery, Montgomery, and Kearny streets); and fragments of two (possibly more) multi-part panoramas of the city. If George Fardon had a single artistic purpose in assembling this diverse collection of views, it was perhaps to endow the city with an image of permanence and stability. In order to counter prevailing perceptions of the city as one beset by public debts and frequent bankruptcies, by political corruption and lawlessness, and by seemingly uncontrollable fires, Fardon's photographs (considered both individually and cumulatively) present San Francisco as a safe, stable environment in which to invest or establish a business, and as a cultured place in which to live. As such, the book – considered the first publication of photographs of an American city – reveals a clear promotional programme of civic boosterism.

For a book with such a specific purpose, the arrangement of the images appears surprisingly arbitrary: the 31 images are grouped and sequenced in no discernible order. Symptomatic of this is the treatment of the seven-part panorama (see also cat. no. 15). Only six parts appear, and these are scattered throughout the publication (plates 1, 5, 9, 13, 14, and 16 correspond to parts 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 1 of the panorama respectively).

The individual negatives for the prints in the album were made over two years from 1854 to 1856. This can be established through a comparison with the dated prints made from the same negatives that appear in the album *Views of San Francisco* (private collection, San Francisco). The earliest corresponds to plate 29, *View from Kearny Street – In the foreground the Orphans' Asylum*, and is dated May 1854. The majority are dated in 1855, while that corresponding to plate 8, *Fort Vigilance*, is dated June 1856.

14.1

14.2

14.3

14.4

The following notice appeared in the 19 September 1856 issue of the *Alta California*: "San Francisco album – We have received from Messrs. Herre and Bauer, the publishers a copy of the miniature edition of the San Francisco album. It contains six well executed photographic views of Telegraph Hill, Monumental Engine House, Merchants' Exchange, Old Post Office, City Hall, and is in an envelope and sent East. It is for sale at Sullivan's and Ullman's news depots." Since these views correspond to five of the first six views in the *San Francisco Album*, this is presumably the first serial instalment of the publication. The November 1856 date in the CCA copy may refer to the completion of the publication. In the collection of the California Historical Society there is another, possibly related, album, *Views in California*. This contains twelve salted-paper prints of views of San Francisco by George Fardon.

In addition to this copy of the album, there are others belonging to the New-York Historical Society, the Bancroft Library, the Huntington Library, and the International Museum of Photography. The number and sequence of photographs are identical in each copy. However, as was common practice among photographers in the nineteenth century, Fardon took more than one negative for each view, and as a result slight differences exist among specific photographs in the various copies. The CCA copy has titles in German (presumably by Louise Bauer) below all but two images: "1 Nach Telegraph Hügel von Taylor Strasse aus. 2 Monumental Spritzen Haus. [14.5]. 3 Die Börse von Washington Strasse. Battery Strasse [14.1]. 4 Kearney Strasse, zwishen [*sic*] Clay und Merchant Str. [14.4]. 5 Von Sacramento und Stockton Strasse. 6 St. Mary's Cathedral. Ecke California & Dupont. 7 Stadthaus. = City Hall. [14.3]. 8 Hauptquartier der Vigilance Commitee [*sic*]. 9 Sacramento Str. vom Antique Castle aus. 10 Das Zoll-Haus und Post Gebäude von Washington. 11 Montgomery Str. von Washington bis Pacific Str. 13 Von California Str. nach Happy Valley. 14 Happy Valley. 15 Montgomery Str. nahe Washington. 16 Stockton Str. von Sacramento Strasse. 17 Montgomery Str. von California Strasse. 18 North Beach. 19 Kearney Str. nahe Sacramento Strasse. 20 Montgomery Str. von California Strasse. 21 Von Harrison und Zweiter Strasse. 22 Von Rincon Point. 23 South Park. von 2ter Str. 24 Russischer Hügel vom Telegraph Berg. 25 Portsmouth's Square: von Clay Strasse. 26 Alcatras Insel und Meiggs Wharf. vom Telegraph Hügel. 27 Battery Strasse. von California Str. [14.2]. 28 California Strasse. von Battery Str. 29 Waisenhaus von Kearneystrasse. in Marksstrasse an 3ter Str. 30 Mission. – Los Dolores. an Centre Str."

References: Sobieszek; Hales, 48–57; Schwartz, 5, 21; Birt, 37–57; Gary F. Kurutz, letter to D. Harris, 9 July 1992.

GEORGE ROBINSON FARDON, photographer
b. Birmingham, Great Britain 1807; d. Victoria, B.C., Canada 1886

15. Partial Panorama of San Francisco
7 salted-paper prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted onto two sheets of heavy board, the latter mounted onto board
May 1855 (negatives exposed)
Overall 16.4 x 131.2 cm (image, irregular), 42.9 x 76.1 cm (l. mount), 43.6 x 76.2 cm (r. mount, irregular)
The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1992.027-FR pt. 1–7

THIS SEVEN-PART PANORAMA was made from the roof of the four-storey building located at the south-east corner of Sacramento and Stockton streets, just west of the rapidly expanding Chinatown neighbourhood. Beginning from the north along the recently graded and planked route of Stockton Street, with Alcatraz and Angel islands clearly visible in the bay, the panorama sweeps around to show a thriving and reconstructed downtown, continuing past St. Mary's Church (still under construction) to end with a view looking south-east over the Congregational Church towards Second Street and Rincon Hill.

For a sense of the speed with which the city changed in the early 1850s, Fardon's panorama can be usefully compared with the lithograph view of 1853 (cat. no. 12). Made within a short time of one another from similar positions (along the western edge of the block between Stockton Street, Grant Avenue, and Sacramento and California streets), they nevertheless seem to show two quite different cities. This later view captures some of the densely packed, openly commercial nature of an emerging central business district (one whose only architectural cohesion is the effect of the restrictions imposed by a recently passed fireproof-building code), as well as the confused jumble of frame houses being erected around its fringes. The very ground on which the city stands is in a similar state of disarray: the establishment of official city grades in 1854 has left some houses high above street level, while other buildings, especially those near the water, have had to be elevated to reach the new street levels.

The dating of the panorama to May 1855 is based upon dated photographs in the album *Views of San Francisco* (private collection, San Francisco). Five photographs corresponding to parts 1, 2, 4, 6, and 7 of this panorama are included in the album: those corresponding to parts 4, 6, and 7 are dated "May 1855," the other two, "1855."

The prints in the panorama were made from the same negatives as those included in the *San Francisco Album* (figs 22–23). They have been trimmed along the bottom edges and on the right and/or left edges in order to eliminate overlapping and to establish a consistent baseline, so that the resulting panorama reads as a continuous space.

There is a second copy of the panorama in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California. It measures 18 by 134 cm and is titled on a card below the image "SAN FRANCISCO / CALIFORNIA /1855."

UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER

16. Partial Panorama of San Francisco
5 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on linen
c. May 1855 (daguerreotypes made)
15.1 x 95.9 cm (image and mount)
The Art Institute of Chicago, 1909.290

CHARLES MERYON, engraver
b. Paris 1821; d. Charenton 1868

17. *San Francisco*
Etching and drypoint, fourth state, brown-black ink on cream laid paper
1856–57 (execution and publication)
24.1 x 99.7 cm (plate)
Inscriptions: imprinted l.l., *C. Meryon. del. sculp. Paris, 1856.*; imprinted on tablet at c., *SAN FRANCISCO MDCCCLV.*; imprinted on tablet (scroll) at l. end, *JBB.*; imprinted on tablet (scroll) at r. end, *AP*; imprinted l.r., *A. Delâtre Imp. Rue F^bg Poissonnière 145.*
The Art Institute of Chicago, 42.17

THE CIRCUMSTANCE SURROUNDING and, indeed, the purpose of Charles Meryon's panoramic etching *San Francisco* are still unclear. It was commissioned by Pioche, Bayerque, and Company – the profiles of François-Louis-Alfred Pioche and Jules B. Bayerque flank the central cartouche – presumably in connection with their extensive real-estate holdings in the western part of the city, which were extensively financed by French investors. The etching was made on steel, indicating that a large edition was anticipated.

It was derived from five daguerreotypes (of unknown size and no longer extant) which were made from an elevated position (probably from the porch or roof of a building) located west of Powell Street, between Sacramento and California streets. The daguerreotypes can be dated to mid 1855, since St. Mary's Church is shown at approximately the same point in its construction as in George Fardon's May 1855 panorama (cat. no. 15); further evidence is provided by the date of 1855 on the tablet in the etching itself. The daguerreotypes were sent to Meryon in Paris. It took Meryon a year to produce the etching: he had received the commission by March 1856; the first proofs were pulled by September, and the edition completed in March 1857.

In letters written in 1861 concerning this commission and quoted extensively by Burty, Meryon chronicled his difficulties: "It was a tiresome labour. The material on which I had to work consisted of *un panorama Daguerre* on plates, composed of five little square views, made successively, possibly on the same day, at different hours in any case, since one end-piece was lighted from one side, whereas the other was lighted from the opposite side. Thus, to avoid the fatigue that results from the glare on the plates, they had the kindness to give me also some partial views recorded on paper. As necessarily happens, due to the very nature of the instrument, these different views could be fit together very imperfectly, since confusion and non-verticality made coincidence impossible." The photographic copies of daguerreotypes (see cat. no. 16) are thought to be enlargements trimmed so as to eliminate any overlapping in the coverage of the daguerreotypes and then mounted onto linen. The overall size of the mounted photographs established the final dimensions for the etching. In conformity with his normal practice, Meryon made tracings of different sections of the panorama, upon which he added specific details and staffage as he developed and refined the composition.

The surviving photographic copies, paper tracings, and different states of the etching (preserved at the Art Institute of Chicago) allow one to study Meryon's working process. It is easy to appreciate both the care with which he followed the photographic models and the difficulties he encountered in reconciling five separate views, each with its own perspective, into a continuous image. Nonetheless at certain points he misinterpreted the information. His placement of the central cartouche conveniently hid the awkward juncture between the third and fourth photographs. Furthermore, though Meryon complained of confusions created by lighting, claiming that the same street (Powell) was lit from different sources, in fact the daguerreotypes were all made at roughly the same time in the afternoon. The photographer, however, had changed the position of his camera, thereby creating the illusion of Powell Street curving. It appears that Meryon, perhaps not familiar with the rigid grid system of American city streets, believed that Powell Street changed direction north of Sacramento Street. It was because of this misreading that Meryon thought he had discovered a conflict in the lighting on that street: in correcting that "inconsistency," he managed precisely to create one.

References: Burty, 529–31; Delteil, cat. no. 73; Schneiderman and Raysor, cat. no. 54; Paris, Musée de la Marine, cat. no. 764; Baird and Evans, n. 18 of the introduction; Rollins; Rothrock; Burke, 100–02, repr.

CHARLES LEANDER WEED, photographer
b. New York State 1824; d. Oakland, Calif., 1903
EDWARD ANTHONY, New York, publisher

18. Partial Panorama of San Francisco
Set of 10 stereocards, each composed of 2 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on buff or yellow card
1858 or 1859 (negatives exposed)
Inscriptions: imprinted paper label affixed to verso of card, *CALIFORNIA* / [series no.] / *PANORAMIC VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO,-* [item no.] / *Taken from the corner of Sacramento and Taylor Sts. / Published by E. Anthony, 501 Broadway, New-York.*

18.1 *California – No. 43, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 1, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.1 x 7.1 cm (l. image), 8.1 x 17.3 cm (card)
New York Public Library, Robert Dennis Collection of Stereographic Views, NYPG89–F399

18.2 *California – No. 44, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 2, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.5 x 7.1 cm (l. image), 8.3 x 17.2 cm (card)
California State Library, Sacramento

18.3 *California – No. 45, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 3, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.5 x 6.8 cm (l. image), 8.3 x 17.2 cm (card)
Coll. Peter E. Palmquist

18.4 *California – No. 46, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 4, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.5 x 7.1 cm (l. image), 8.3 x 17.2 cm (card)
California State Library

18.5 *California – No. 47, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 5, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.0 x 6.6 cm (l. image), 8.3 x 17.2 cm (card)
Coll. Peter E. Palmquist

18.6 *California – No. 48, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 6, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.4 x 6.6 cm (l. image), 8.3 x 17.2 cm (card)
Coll. Peter E. Palmquist

18.7 *California – No. 49, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 7, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.4 x 6.8 cm (l. image), 8.3 x 17.2 cm (card)
Coll. Peter E. Palmquist

18.8 *California – No. 50, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 8, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.3 x 6.8 cm (l. image), 8.3 x 17.2 cm (card)
Coll. Peter E. Palmquist

18.9 *California – No. 51, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 9, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.4 x 7.1 cm (l. image), 8.1 x 17.3 cm (card)
New York Public Library, Robert Dennis Collection of Stereographic Views, NYPG89–F399

18.10 *California – No. 52, Panoramic View of San Francisco – No. 10, Taken from the Cornfer of Sacramento and Taylor Streets*
7.6 x 7.1 cm (l. image), 8.3 x 17.2 cm (card)
Coll. Peter E. Palmquist

THIS TEN-PART PANORAMA was made from three separate vantage points in the block west of Powell, between Sacramento and California streets. The first six views were made from the porch of a residence located near Sacramento (this building is shown at the left-hand edge of the first of the 1855 daguerreotypes – see cat. no. 16). Weed evidently moved his camera for every second view, presumably to eliminate from the foreground of his image the upright supports of the porch. For the final four views he moved his camera approximately 60 metres (200 ft.) south to California Street. The seventh view was made from the south side of California, looking south-east, while the last three views were made from a point further west on the north side of the street. Weed slightly shifted his camera position also between the eighth and ninth views. The panorama embraces a view of approximately 180°.

This is the first recorded stereographic panorama of San Francisco, and it displays a corresponding sense of experimentation. Weed apparently intended to show a wider sweep of the city than had previously been attempted, but the topography of the site made it impossible for him to do so from a single vantage point. In order to depict the entire city he needed to change position, because of the elevation of the land between Sacramento and California streets and the sharpness with which it drops away beyond them. His movement from one spot to another enabled him to depict Powell Street running to the bay (as Stockton and Dupont had been, Powell now represented the western edge of dense urban development), also permitting in the last four parts a view of Rincon Point (the southern edge of the quickly receding Yerba Buena Cove), Mission Bay, and even the vast, undeveloped subdivisions that lay to the south, toward the Mission. In conceiving this panorama, Weed may not have felt the necessity of making it from a single vantage point, as was Watkins' later practice (see cat. nos 20, 26, and 27).

This set of stereocards first appeared in Edward Anthony and Co.'s catalogue of May 1860 as part of a series of 77 stereo-views of California, all of which can be attributed to Charles Weed. Robert Vance, for whom Weed worked, entered into an arrangement with Anthony for the national distribution of these stereocards. The misidentification of the location from which the panorama was made – *Panoramic View of San Francisco, Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Streets* – appeared in both the catalogue listings and on the backs of each stereocard. Anthony (later the E. and H.T. Anthony Company) continued to issue and distribute these stereocards for some years.

References: Palmquist 1979a (reprint of Edward Anthony and Co.'s catalogue of 1860); Palmquist 1979b, 201–04; Marder and Marder, 346 (facsimile of Edward Anthony's catalogue of 1862).

Fig. 22 George Fardon, *View over the City, with St. Mary's Church in the Foreground, San Francisco* (negative exposed May 1855). Salted-paper print, 16.2 x 20.3 cm (image). CCA PHI979:0355:15 (repr. of image only). Plate 13 from Fardon's *San Francisco Album*, Herre and Bauer, 1856 (see cat. no. 14)

Fig. 23 George Fardon, *View over Happy Valley, San Francisco* (negative exposed May 1855). Salted-paper print, 16.1 x 20.3 cm (image). CCA PHI979:0355:016 (repr. of image only). Plate 14 from Fardon's *San Francisco Album*, Herre and Bauer, 1856 (see cat. no. 14)

16

17

Carleton Eugene Watkins, photographer
b. Oneonta, N.Y., 1829; d. Napa, Calif., 1916

19. Partial Panorama of San Francisco
5 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, each mounted separately
Between 1 March and 18 May 1864 (negatives exposed)
The California Historical Society, San Francisco

19.1 View Towards Russian Hill, North Beach, and Alcatraz Island
36.9 x 52.1 cm (image), 47.4 x 54.1 cm (mount)
19.2 View Towards Telegraph Hill
36.7 x 52.1 cm (image), 47.4 x 57.7 cm (mount)
19.3 View Towards Yerba Buena Island
36.7 x 52.1 cm (image), 57.6 x 58.3 cm (mount)
19.4 View Towards Rincon Point
36.7 x 52.2 cm (image), 47.5 x 56.9 cm (mount)
19.5 View Towards Mission Bay
36.9 x 52.2 cm (image), 47.4 x 58.2 cm (mount)

This five-part panorama embraces a 180-degree view aligned along Powell Street. Watkins selected a very similar, if not identical, position to that chosen by the photographer who made the five daguerreotypes which had formed the basis of Meryon's etching (cat. no. 17). Although the overall extent of the two panoramas as well as the individual framing of each part are different, the angle of view is remarkably similar, as can be seen for example by comparing the fourth plate of the daguerreotype panorama with the third part of Watkins'.

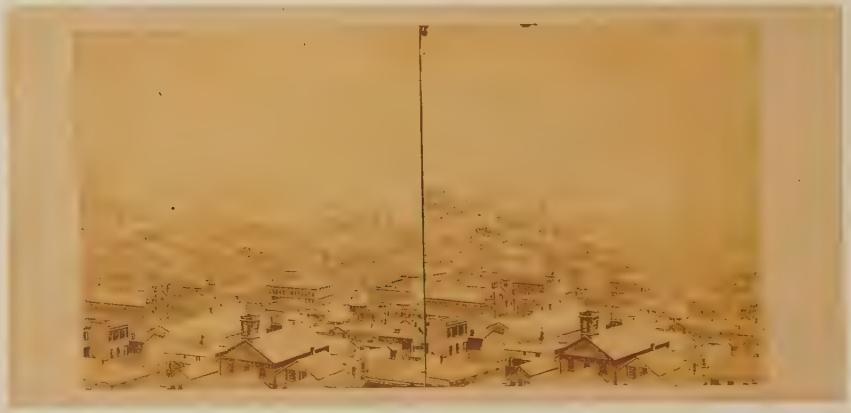
This panorama was probably made in April or early May 1864. The First Unitarian Church (located on Geary Street east of Stockton and visible in the fifth part) was completed in February 1863 and dedicated in January 1864. The Union Hall with the Omnibus Railroad Company Depot beneath it (located on Howard Street between Third and Fourth streets and visible in the fourth part) was dedicated in 1864. Thomas Maguire's Academy of Music (located at 300 Montgomery Street at Pine Street and visible in the third part) is shown under construction: the ground was broken on 1 March and the building opened on 18 May 1864. The evidence from shadow dating indicates that the exposures were made at approximately hourly intervals from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. The clock on St. Mary's Church (also visible in the third part) records the time as 12:50. Christopher Temple Emmett, a San Francisco lawyer, probably first occupied the house from which this panorama was made in the summer of 1864, and it is tempting to connect his occupancy with the commissioning of this panorama.

References: Birt, 231–32; San Francisco, San Francisco Water Tap Records; Haller.

18.1

18.2

18.3



18.4

18.5

18.6

18.7

18.8

18.9

18.10

CARLETON EUGENE WATKINS, photographer
b. Oneonta, N.Y., 1829; d. Napa, Calif., 1916

20. *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco*
Set of 10 stereocards, each composed of 2 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on orange card
Before 1874 (negatives exposed)
Inscriptions: reference number and imprinted title below r. image, [no.] *View from California and Powell Streets, S.F.* [on 20.3, *Panorama from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco*]; imprinted photographer's credit along l. edge, *WATKINS' PACIFIC COAST, / 22 & 26 Montgomery St., opposite Lick House entrance, San Francisco.* [on 20.8, *WATKINS' NEW SERIES, YOSEMITE AND PACIFIC COAST*]; imprinted advertisement along r. edge, *Photographic Views of California, Oregon and the Pacific Coast generally – embracing / Yosemite, Big Trees, Geysers, Mount Shasta, Mining, City, etc., etc. / Views made to order in any part of the State or Coast.* [on 20.8, *26 MONTGOMERY STREET, AND WOODWARD'S GARDEN, S. F.*]

Fig. 24 Carleton Watkins, *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1769* (negatives exposed before 1874). Stereocard of two albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on card, 7.9 x 7.8 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.6 cm (card). California Historical Society, San Francisco

Fig. 25 Carleton Watkins, *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1768* (negatives exposed before 1874). Stereocard of two albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on card, 7.9 x 8.0 cm (l. image), 8.8 x 17.6 cm (card). California Historical Society, San Francisco

20.1 *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1763*
7.6 x 8.0 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.6 cm (card)
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

20.2 *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1762*
7.6 x 7.9 cm (l. image), 8.6 x 17.6 cm (card)
Coll. John Weiler

20.3 *Panorama from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1761*
7.7 x 8.0 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.6 cm (card)
The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1905.15243-STER

20.4 *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1760*
8.0 x 8.0 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.6 cm (card)
The Bancroft Library, 1905.15244-STER

20.5 *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1759*
8.0 x 7.8 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.5 cm (card)
American Antiquarian Society

20.6 *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1758*
8.0 x 7.9 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.6 cm (card)
The Bancroft Library, 1905.15247-STER

20.7 *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1757*
7.9 x 7.9 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.6 cm (card)
The Bancroft Library, 1905.15241-STER

20.8 *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1756*
8.0 x 8.0 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.6 cm (card)
New York Public Library, Robert Dennis Collection of Stereographic Views, NYPG89–F399

20.9 *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1755*
7.8 x 7.9 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.6 cm (card)
The Bancroft Library, 1905.15246-STER

20.10 *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1754*
8.0 x 7.9 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.6 cm (card)
The Bancroft Library, 1905.15245-STER

FOR THIS PANORAMA, Watkins selected a vantage point west of Powell Street and north of California Street. From this position he took ten overlapping views, pivoting his camera north-eastward through an 180-degree trajectory, beginning with a view looking south-west over Mason Street and ending with one looking north-east towards Telegraph Hill.

Watkins' panorama was made at a time of rapid change in the development and ownership of the land along upper California Street. The first six stereocards (numbers 1754–59) show the block of land bounded by Powell, California, Mason, and Pine streets, which Leland Stanford acquired in May 1873. Stanford would subsequently build his mansion on the eastern half of the block and sell the western half to his partner, Mark Hopkins, who built his own mansion on that site a short time later. The Erwin Davis house, originally built by Julia Dean Hayne and one of the earliest of Nob Hill's grand residences, occupied the site where Stanford was soon to build; it is shown in cards 1758 and 1759. The house shown

in cards 1761 and 1762, at the north-west corner of California and Powell streets, was built by Christopher Temple Emmett, who sold his property with this existing building to the prominent liquor merchant David Porter in early 1873. Like Stanford across the street, Porter subsequently replaced this structure with a much larger one (the new house appears in Muybridge's panoramas of 1877 and 1878 – see cat. nos 31 and 34). The panorama was apparently made around the time of these 1873 transactions, as was Watkins' four-part panorama (see cat. no. 21).

There are 16 Pacific Coast stereocards by Watkins with the title *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco*, numbered 1754–69, this panorama comprising numbers 1754–63. Four numbers (1764–67) have not been located. A stereocard with Watkins' number 1768 (in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society – fig. 26) is a close variant of number 1756 and may represent a slightly different cropping of the same negative. Stereocards with numbers 1768 and 1769 in the collection of the California Historical Society were made from a different vantage point from those in the panorama, at the brow of the hill above Pine Street overlooking the D.J. Oliver residence (figs 24–25).

At the same time as this stereograph panorama, Watkins also made a 360-degree twenty-part stereographic panorama from Telegraph Hill (Watkins' Pacific Coast nos 1338–57).

References: *San Francisco Real Estate Circular*, Feb. 1873, p. 2, col. 1, May 1873, p. 1, col. 3; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 26 June 1893, p. 3, col. 1.

CARLETON EUGENE WATKINS, photographer
b. Oneonta, N.Y., 1829; d. Napa, Calif., 1916

21. Partial Panorama of San Francisco
4 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, each mounted on board
Before 1874 (negatives exposed)
The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1980.008.1–.4-D

21.1 View of North Beach and Alcatraz Island
39.8 x 52.3 cm (image), 55.8 x 71.2 cm (mount)
21.2 View Towards Telegraph Hill
39.7 x 52.5 cm (image), 55.6 x 71.2 cm (mount, irregular)
21.3 View Towards Goat Island
39.7 x 52.3 cm (image), 55.6 x 70.2 cm (mount)
21.4 View Towards Rincon Hill
39.7 x 52.2 cm (image), 55.7 x 70.7 cm (mount)

THIS FOUR-PART PANORAMA was made from an elevated position west of Powell Street between Sacramento and California streets. It would seem to have been made from a structure to the north of the building shown in the stereocards 1761 and 1762 of the contemporaneous panorama by Watkins (cat. no. 20), possibly located in one corner of the property just purchased by David Porter. While this vantage shows the city north of California Street in great detail, it only hints at the tremendous southward spread of new architectural development, toward the blocks of Kearny and Montgomery streets near Market.

The panorama can be dated to about 1873. The spire of the First Methodist Episcopal Church (located on Powell between Jackson and Washington streets, and clearly visible in the first part) was completed in 1871. However, construction of the Palace Hotel, built at the south-west corner of New Montgomery and Market streets and opened in October 1874, has not yet begun. The fourth part shows the site of the Emmett house, torn down shortly after its purchase early in 1873 by Porter, whose own residence has not yet replaced it.

At some point, Watkins began printing sections from the centre of these mammoth-plate negatives, selling them as separate views. In the Ambroise Bernard Album in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, dated 1877, a view from the centre of the first mammoth-plate is included. Other versions of this same detail are in the collection of the CCA (fig. 27), the Oakland Museum, the California Historical Society, and the California State Library: the cropping is slightly different in each. Similar detailed views from the second part are in the Bancroft Library (fig. 28) and the California Historical Society, and from the fourth part are in the Bancroft Library (fig. 29) and the California State Library.

In 1875–76 Watkins, through poor financial management and a general business slump in the city, lost control of a large number of his negatives to Isaiah Taber. In Taber's *Pacific Coast Tourist Guide, Catalogue of Views* (undated, but c. 1881; a copy is in the collection of the California State Library, Sacramento), four views of 18 by 20 inches (45.7 x 50.8 cm) are listed: "626. Panorama from California and Powell Streets, showing Alcatraz, etc. 627. Panorama from California and Powell Streets showing Telegraph Hill. 628. Panorama from California and Powell Streets showing Goat Island. 629. Panorama from California and Powell Streets showing Rincon Hill." In the same catalogue, Taber also offered four views of 8 by 12 inches (20.3 x 30.4 cm): "View from California St. Hill, showing Alcatraz. View from California St. Hill, showing Telegraph Hill. View from California St. Hill, showing Goat Island and Oakland. View from California St. Hill, showing Rincon Hill." While the exact working relationship and financial arrangements between Watkins and Taber are still unclear, it is tempting to identify the views listed in Taber's catalogue (which correspond in both subject and size) with this panorama by Watkins and its details.

References: Palmquist 1982a, 18; Palmquist 1983, 51–53.

19.1

19.2

19.3

19.4

20.1

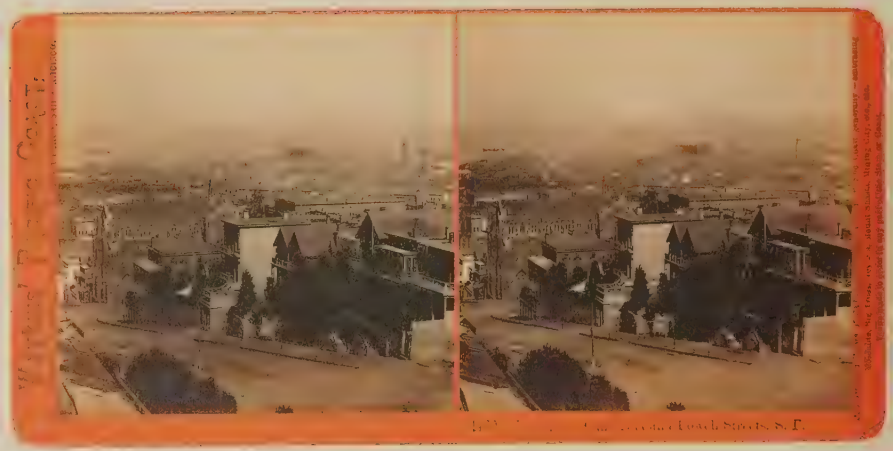
20.2

20.7

20.8

Fig. 26 Carleton Watkins, *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco, 1768* (negatives exposed before 1874). Stereocard of two albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on card, 8.0 x 7.8 cm (l. image), 8.7 x 17.5 cm (card). American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

20.3



20.4

20.9

20.10

20.6

21.1

21.2

Fig. 27 Carleton Watkins, *A View of North Beach and Alcatraz Island* (negative exposed before 1874). Mounted albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, 20.5 x 30.6 cm (image).
CCA PHI977:0059

Fig. 28 Carleton Watkins, *View towards Telegraph Hill* (negative exposed before 1874). Mounted albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, 20.5 x 30.6 cm (image). The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

21.3

21.4

Fig. 29 Carleton Watkins, *View towards Rincon Hill* (negative exposed before 1874). Mounted albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, 20.5 x 30.6 cm (image). The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

UNKNOWN DESIGNER AND ENGRAVER
FREDERICK HESS, San Francisco, publisher

22. *San Francisco, California*
Steel engraving on paper
1874 (publication)
22.4 x 62.3 cm (image), 31.1 x 77.7 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: imprinted l.c., *SAN FRANCISCO – CALIFORNIA / FREDERICK HESS PUBLISHER*; imprinted l.r., *Entered according to act of congress in the year 1874 by Frederick Hess in the office of the librarian of Congress, Washington, D.C.*; titles (transcribed below) imprinted below each vignette; imprinted c., *SAN FRANCISCO*
Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., PGA D HESS SAN FRANCISCO

THE CENTRAL SCENE shows a panorama of San Francisco as viewed from a position west of Powell Street, between Sacramento and California streets. The vantage point of this view is remarkably close to that of Watkins' four-part panorama (cat. no. 21). Moreover, the details of the buildings visible along the east side of Powell Street and at points throughout the print, and the pattern of light and shadow on specific buildings (for example, the houses along Powell Street, south of Sacramento, and the western façade of Grace Cathedral on California Street), suggest that the Watkins panorama may have formed the basis for this view published by Hess. However, the foreground, with its strolling couples and lush vegetation, is at odds with the equivalent area in Watkins' panorama, and suggests the persistence, even after the introduction of panoramic photography, of traditional pictorial conventions in topographical print-making (see cat. nos 10, 12, and 13).

The central scene is surrounded by 22 vignettes, labeled as follows (clockwise from upper left): Nevada Block; Calvary Church; Sansome Street; Palace Hotel; City Hall; Grand Hotel; London & SFR Bank; St. Mary's Cathedral; Cliff House; Lick House; The White House; Occidental Hotel; Corner Geary and Kearny Street; Corner First and Market Street; California Street; P.M.S.S. Co's Wharf. Off for China and Japan; Montgomery Street; Merchant Library Bush Street; California Street Corner Sansome; Oriental Block; Murphy Grant & Co's Building, Sansome Street; Bush House Montgomery Street. The City Hall is represented as it was planned rather than in its then-unfinished state. The other views, taken together, suggest the relative architectural grandeur of 1870s San Francisco in comparison to the city of a generation earlier. Significantly, all of these buildings stood south of the now-ageing blocks around Portsmouth Square.

There is an impression of this print in the Oakland Museum with applied colour, and one at the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, printed before the lettering was added.

References: Baird and Evans, n. 18 of the introduction; Baird 1967, cat. no. 232.

22

Isaiah West Taber, photographer
b. New Bedford, Mass., 1830; d. Oakland, Calif., 1912

23. *Gov. Stanford's Residence, San Francisco, Cal.*
Albumen silver print, mounted on card
After 1878 (negative exposed)
20.5 x 30.2 cm (image), 20.9 x 30.2 cm (sheet),
26.9 x 34.6 cm (mount)
Inscriptions: printed in negative on print b., *A 161 Gov. Stanford's Residence, San Francisco, Cal Taber Photo., San Francisco.*
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal,
PH1983:0335

23

In 1873 the Central Pacific Railroad moved its corporate offices to San Francisco and the company's executive officers prepared to move with them. In May 1873 Leland Stanford acquired the two lots on the west side of Powell Street between Pine and California, along with the house standing on the site, from the then-bankrupt banker and mining speculator Erwin Davis for $35,000. (As costly as this was at a time when $5,000 bought a substantial home, it was inexpensive in comparison with real estate downtown, where Stanford's investment would have paid for only an 18-metre or 60-foot lot built up with dilapidated buildings.) Stanford subsequently moved the house and its barn to the corner of Pine and Hyde streets, where it was used as a boarding house. He eventually purchased the remaining four lots on the block and the land on the north-east corner of Powell and California; the latter became the site of his stables. When he moved from Sacramento to San Francisco in 1874, Stanford stayed briefly at the Palace Hotel, and then occupied a house at 711 Pine while his own mansion was being built. The house was completed in the autumn of 1876.

Designed by the pioneer California architectural firm of Samuel Bugbee and Son, the house was an ornately detailed Italianate design oriented to take advantage both of the prestige of a formal entry on California Street and of the vista of the city across Powell and Pine streets. In the tradition of earlier Nob Hill mansions, it was designed within elaborate, formal grounds complete with grading and landscaping that transformed the sandy, barren hillside site into a lush, green platform presiding over the city below.

References: Belt; Boruck, 31; *San Francisco Real Estate Circular*, May 1873, p. 1, col. 3, Nov. 1873, p. 2, col. 1; San Francisco, San Francisco Water Tap Records.

Eadweard James Muybridge, photographer
b. Kingston-upon-Thames 1830; d. Kingston-upon-Thames 1904

24. Album Documenting the Stanford Residence, San Francisco
Untitled oblong quarto album (26.5 x 36.0 cm) of 62 albumen silver prints mounted on 62 leaves of white wove paper (each leaf 25.4 x 33.4 cm)
1877–78 (negatives exposed and compilation date)
Full black morocco leather binding, red sprinkled edges, green marbled endpapers; photographer credits imprinted in yellow below each image within pale yellow border, l.l. (*MUYBRIDGE PHOTO*), l.r. (*SAN FRANCISCO*); below each border, caption in pencil in the hand of Jane Leland Stanford
San Francisco History Room. San Francisco Public Library

24.1 *View of the Drawing or Pompeiian Room*
13.6 x 23.4 cm (image)
Inscriptions: inscribed in pencil below image c., *Salon View into Hall or Rotunda and / Picture gallery*

24.2 *View of the Art Gallery*
13.9 x 23.1 cm (image)
Inscriptions: inscribed in pencil below image l.l., *Picture Gallery*

24.3 *View of the Library, looking towards Bay Window*
13.7 x 23.4 cm (image)
Inscriptions: inscribed in pencil below image l.l., *Library*

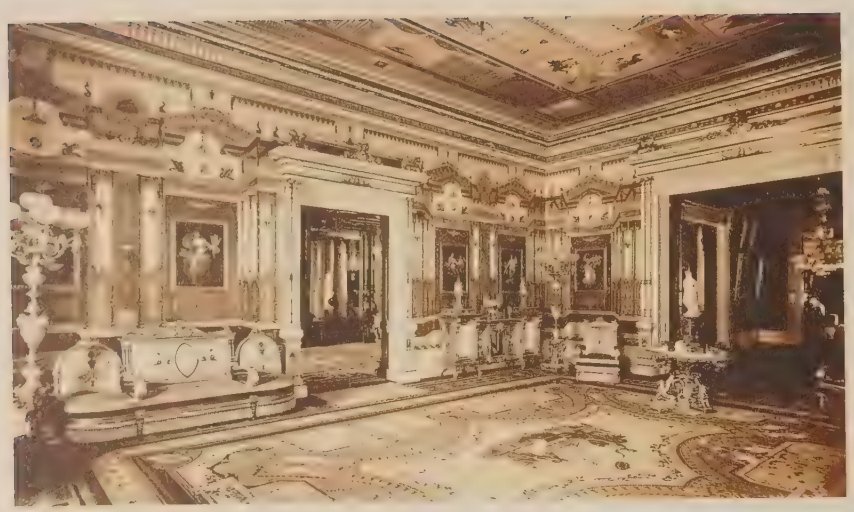
24.4 *View from the Stanford Residence, looking towards Telegraph Hill*
13.9 x 23.0 cm (image)
Inscriptions: inscribed in pencil below image c., *View overlooking the city and bay from / North Window of Mr L[eland Stanford's] House*

Repr. of image only

This is one of two albums containing photographs by Eadweard Muybridge that documents Stanford's completed house at the south-west corner of California and Powell streets. A second album with 34 mounted albumen silver prints is in the collection of the Stanford University Library. In both albums, the subjects are identified and titled in pencil by Mrs. Leland Stanford.

The album opens with two views of the exterior of the house (see fig. 18). In accordance with its memorializing purposes, the album then progresses through each of the lavishly decorated rooms on the ground floor – the entrance hall, the reception room, the library (24.3), the sitting room, the conservatory, the dining room, the picture gallery (24.2), the salon (24.1), the breakfast room, and the ballroom – before proceeding to the upper rotunda and principal bedrooms on the second floor. Each room is photographed from two or three vantage points, so that the entire room with its furnishings, paintings, and sculptures is fully recorded. The final six photographs in the album are views of the city, supposedly made from the windows of various rooms of the house (24.4). These form six parts of a seven-part panorama made from the same negatives (see cat. no. 25).

References: Belt; Mozley 1972, 64–66; Nagel; Birt, 242–54.



24.1

24.2

24.3

24.4

EADWEARD JAMES MUYBRIDGE, photographer
b. Kingston-upon-Thames 1830; d. Kingston-upon-Thames 1904

25. Partial Panorama of San Francisco
7 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on India-tinted board
1877 (negatives exposed)

25.1 *View Overlooking the City and Bay from North Window of Mr. L[eland Stanford's] House*
14.3 x 22.9 cm (image), 26.3 x 34.6 cm (mount)
J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Calif.

25.2 *Eastern View Over the Bay, Goat Island Near and Mount Diablo in the Distance*
14.0 x 23.3 cm (image), 26.2 x 34.7 cm (mount)
Inscriptions: inscribed in pencil c. below image, *Eastern View Over the Bay, Goat Island near Mount Diablo in the Distance*; imprinted l.l. below image, *MUYBRIDGE. SAN FRANCISCO*
Special Collections, Stanford University Library, Palo Alto, Calif.

25.3 *View to the East with Goat Island and Oakland on the Eastern Shore*
13.9 x 23.4 cm (image), 14.0 x 23.4 cm (sheet), 26.2 x 34.7 cm (mount)
Inscriptions: inscribed in pencil c. below image, *View to the East with Goat Island and Oakland on the Eastern Shore*; imprinted l.l. below image, *MUYBRIDGE. SAN FRANCISCO*
Special Collections, Stanford University Library

25.4 *View Overlooking [the] City [and] Bay [Showing the Palace Hotel] from South Windows*
14.0 x 23.3 cm (image), 26.4 x 34.6 cm (mount)
J. Paul Getty Museum

25.5 *View from Windows Looking South*
14.2 x 23.0 cm (image), 26.2 x 34.6 cm (mount)
J. Paul Getty Museum

25.6 *View from Windows Looking South-west*
14.3 x 23.0 cm (image), 26.3 x 34.6 cm (mount)
J. Paul Getty Museum

25.7 *View Looking South and West from the Windows of L[eland] S[tanford's] House*
14.1 x 22.9 cm (image), 26.3 x 34.6 cm (mount)
J. Paul Getty Museum

ALMOST AS FREQUENTLY AS THEY NOTED the splendour of the Nob Hill mansions, observers at the time remarked on the vistas that those buildings afforded of the city and the bay. Speaking of the recently completed Stanford house in 1876, one writer exclaimed that "Its situation is the most desirable in the City. From its windows may be seen a varied view of land and water, extending from the Coastal range to the Pacific, and from Angel Island southward, until the landscape fades in the hazy distance beyond San Jose." Although the views which make up this panorama are identified in the album documenting the Stanford residence (cat. no. 24) as having been taken from the windows of the house, they were in fact made from three different locations on the roof. The first three views were made from the north-east corner (overlooking Powell and California streets), looking north-east over the grounds of the Porter house toward Telegraph Hill and eastward down California Street toward Yerba Buena Island. The next two views were made from the south-east corner of the roof overlooking Pine and down Powell Street. The final two views were made from a position to the west, looking south and south-west. The building in the immediate foreground of the last part lies on the Hopkins property. (The black void indicates where the negative was damaged before the print was made.)

The panorama can be dated to 1877 (among other evidence, the Baldwin Hotel, seen in a finished or near-finished condition at the corner of Market and Powell streets, opened in February 1877), and certainly before 1878. The buildings shown in this panorama more closely match those in Muybridge's 1877 panoramas (cat. nos 31 and 33) than those in his panorama of 1878 (cat. no. 34). Also noteworthy are the number of major, recent public improvements visible: Muybridge's image captures the new route of Montgomery (now Columbus) Avenue cutting through the northern blocks of downtown, the huge Second Street cut on Rincon Hill, and the costly and controversial City Hall at Market and Larkin streets.

The final six views in the album in the collection of the San Francisco Public Library (cat. no. 24) correspond to parts 1 and 3–7 of this panorama. The images in the panorama have far more dramatic skies than those in the album, indicating that Muybridge used separate sky negatives in printing this set. Part 2 of the panorama was made on an overcast day, and since it was not included in the album it may be a variant of part 3. The titles of the five photographs from the J. Paul Getty Museum are derived from the manuscript titles in the album.

References: Mozley 1972, 64–66; Malibu, Calif., J. Paul Getty Museum, *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 17 (1989), 158–60, repr. 158–59; Boruck, 31.

CARLETON EUGENE WATKINS, photographer
b. Oneonta, N.Y., 1829; d. Napa, Calif., 1916

26. *View from the Grounds of Gov. Stanford, Cal. St., S.F.*
Set of 6 stereocards, each comprised of 2 albumen silver prints from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, mounted on orange card
1877 or later (negatives exposed)
7.9 x 7.8 cm (each image), 9.0 x 17.6 cm (each card)
Inscriptions: each card with title and reference number imprinted below r. image, *View from the Grounds of Gov. Stanford, Cal. St., S.F.*, [no.]; photographer credit imprinted l. side, *WATKINS' NEW SERIES / of Pacific Coast Views, 427 Montgomery Street, S. F.*; advertisement imprinted along r. edge, *Photographic Views of California, Oregon, Nevada, Arizona, Lower Cal., and the / Pacific Coast, embracing Yosemite, Big Trees, Geysers, Mount Shasta, Min- / ing, City, etc., etc. Views made to order in any part of the State or Coast.*
California State Library, Sacramento

THIS SIX-PART PANORAMA was made from the formal grounds of the Leland Stanford house and comprises a 90-degree view oriented along Pine Street. It shows the continued southward and westward push of new development along Market Street west from the Palace Hotel (visible in no. 3644) to the Mechanics' Pavilion and City Hall site (visible in nos 3650–51) and into the blocks west of Union Square. The presence of the Baldwin Hotel (visible in no. 3649) helps to date the series to 1877 or later.

This panorama was made by using a specially constructed camera which allowed Watkins to print both stereo-views and *boudoir* views from the same negative. Charles Turrill, a photographer himself and a close friend of Watkins, described the camera and Watkins' printing procedures in an article published shortly after Watkins died: "Watkins had constructed a camera which would work a plate 5½" x 14" [14 x 36 cm]. Thus, he made at each exposure two negatives approximately 5½" x 7" [14 x 18 cm]. From these ends of his stereoscopic plate he made prints, approximately 5 x 7 [13 x 18 cm], which he published as his 'Boudoir Series,' using the same

Fig. 30 Carleton Watkins, *View from the Grounds of Gov. Stanford, Cal. St., S.F. 3646* (negative exposed 1877 or later). Stereocard of two albumen silver prints from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, mounted on card, 7.9 x 7.8 cm (l. image), 9.0 x 17.6 cm (card). California State Library, Sacramento

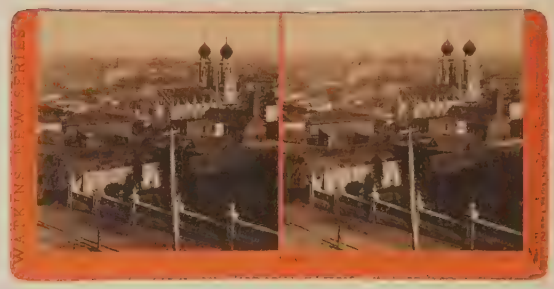


Fig. 31 Carleton Watkins, *View from the Grounds of Gov. Stanford, Cal. St., S.F. 3647* (negative exposed 1877 or later). Stereocard of two albumen silver prints from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, mounted on card, 7.9 x 7.8 cm (l. image), 9.0 x 17.6 cm (card). California State Library, Sacramento

Fig. 32 Carleton Watkins, *View of San Francisco, from the Residence of Gov. Stanford* (negative exposed 1877 or later). Mounted albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, 11.2 x 17.7 cm (image; top domed), 13.3 x 21.5 cm (mount). California Historical Society, San Francisco

plates for stereoscopic views by employing mats, properly cut out. He printed a certain portion from each negative for stereo."

The panorama was marketed as six stereocards (Watkins' new series nos 3644, 3645, 3648, 3649, 3650, and 3651) and as three *boudoir* prints (corresponding to 3644 and 3645, 3648 and 3649, and 3650 and 3651 – figs 33–35).

Because of the size of the negatives, some variance in printing exists amongst surviving copies of these images. For example, the number 3645 in the collection of the CCA (PH1987:0092) shows different cropping at the bottom and right-hand sides of the image from the one in the collection of the California State Library, Sacramento.

Related to this panorama are two stereocards numbered 3646 and 3647 (collection of the California State Library), with its corresponding *boudoir* image (collection of the California Historical Society). These views were made from a different, more westerly position probably within the grounds of the Hopkins house (figs. 30–32).

References: Turrill, 32; Palmquist 1982–83.

CARLETON EUGENE WATKINS, photographer
b. Oneonta, N.Y., 1829; d. Napa, Calif., 1916

27. *View from the Residence of Chas. Crocker, Esq., S.F.*
Set of 6 stereocards, each composed of 2 albumen silver prints from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, mounted on orange card
1877 (negatives exposed)
7.7 x 8.2 cm (each image), 8.9 x 17.2 cm (each card)
Inscriptions: imprinted on mount below r. image, *View from the Residence of Chas. Crocker, Esq., S.F.* [no.] / *California St.*; photographer credit printed l. side, *WATKINS' NEW SERIES / of Pacific Coast Views, 427 Montgomery Street, S. F.*; advertisement imprinted along r. edge, *Photographic Views of California, Oregon, Nevada, Arizona, Lower Cal., and the / Pacific Coast, embracing Yosemite, Big Trees, Geysers, Mount Shasta, Mining, / City, etc., etc. Views made to order in any part of the State or Coast.*
California State Library, Sacramento

CHARLES CROCKER BEGAN ACQUIRING LAND on the block bounded by California, Jones, Sacramento, and Taylor streets in 1873, shortly after Stanford bought his Powell Street lots. He succeeded in buying the entire block with the exception of a single house-lot on Sacramento Street. This property was owned by Nicholas Yung, an undertaker who had built his house on the site in the 1860s and refused to settle on Crocker's terms. The negotiations, judging from the accounts and cartoons in contemporary newspapers, were acrimonious; indeed, in an unsuccessful attempt to force the sale in 1876, Crocker erected a 12-metre-high (40 ft.) "spite" fence on three sides of Yung's property. The sale finally took place only after the end of the century, long after both men had died. Yung's widow, approached through the years with various schemes for gaining revenge against her neighbour, is reported to have rebuffed them all, responding that "there are some things to which people like ourselves do not care to stoop." (This fence is shown in the first part of Muybridge's two 1877 panoramas and in the third part of the 1878 one – see cat. nos 31, 33, and 34.)

Charles Crocker's residence was located at the north-west corner of California and Taylor streets. The house was designed by the firm of Raun and Taylor (fig. 17). According to Oscar Lewis, "The chief feature [of the mansion], aside from its cost – said to have been a million and a quarter – was a 76-foot [23 m] tower, up which the 230-pound host delighted to pilot his guests to admire the panoramic view to be had from its top."

Watkins made this six-part stereograph panorama from the roof of the house. It comprises his new series numbers 3638–43. The first two views (3638 and 3639) look north-east across Taylor Street to the bay and Telegraph Hill; the final four (3640–43) form a sweeping view along California Street and south across the city to Potrero Hill. There is a significant break between the first two and the final four stereocards corresponding to the "Spite fence" and portions of the David Colton house, a block east of Crocker's residence.

The panorama can be dated to 1877 by the third card (3640), which shows the completed Stanford House but only excavations for the foundations of the Hopkins house.

As was his practice (see cat. no. 26), Watkins also marketed these views as *boudoir* prints. A print in the collection of the California Historical Society represents a variant to 3640 and 3641 (fig. 36). A view in the collection of the CCA (PH1986:0306) corresponds to stereographs 3642 and 3643 (fig. 37).

References: *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 Nov. 1902, p. 16, col. 1; *San Francisco Real Estate Circular*, Aug. 1873, p. 2, col. 3, Feb. 1877, p. 3, col. 2; Lewis, 112; Falconer, 134–35; Palmquist, 1982–83.

25.1

25.2

25.3

25.4

25.5

25.7

26

VIEW FROM THE RESIDENCE OF GOV. STANFORD, S. F.
You are most cordially invited, together with your friends, to visit Watkins' Yosemite Art Gallery—Portrait and Landscape—Montgomery Street, S. F. Our Photographic Views, embracing the different sizes, include all the places of interest on the Pacific Coast.
[EXTRACT FROM THE LONDON ART JOURNAL.]

Fig. 33 Carleton Watkins. *View from the Residence of Gov. Stanford, S.F.* (negative exposed 1877 or later). Mounted albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, 8.1 x 15.6 cm (image), 10.8 x 16.6 cm (mount). California Historical Society, San Francisco

Fig. 34 Carleton Watkins, *View of San Francisco from the Residence of Gov. Stanford, San Francisco* (negative exposed 1877 or later). Albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, mounted in an album of views, 11.3 x 17.0 cm (image, top domed). J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Calif.

Fig. 35 Carleton Watkins, *View from the Grounds of Gov. Stanford, Cal. St., San Francisco* (negative exposed 1877 or later). Albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, mounted in an album of views, 11.3 x 17.0 cm (image, top domed). J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Calif.

WATKINS' NEW SERIES

27

WATKINS' NEW SERIES

WATKINS' NEW SERIES

WATKINS' NEW SERIES

WATKINS' NEW SERIES

WATKINS' NEW SERIES

Fig. 36 Carleton Watkins, *View from the Residence of Charles Crocker* (negative exposed 1877 or later)
Mounted albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, 11.2 x 17.5 cm (image, top domed), 13.6 x 20.3 cm (mount). California Historical Society, San Francisco

Fig. 37 Carleton Watkins, *View from the Residence of Charles Crocker* (negative exposed 1877 or later)
Unmounted albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative, 9.2 x 15.1 cm (image)
CCA PH1986:0306

B 114 Residence of Mrs. Hopkins, California St. Hill, S. F.
Watkins' New Boudoir Series Yo Semite and Pacific Coast, 427 Montgomery Street, San Francisco.

28

Carleton Eugene Watkins, photographer
b. Oneonta, N.Y., 1829; d. Napa, Calif., 1916

28. *Residence of Mrs. Hopkins, California St. Hill., S.F.*
Albumen silver print, mounted on grey card
1878 or later (negative exposed)
11.2 x 17.7 cm (image, top domed), 12.0 x 20.7 cm (sheet), 13.8 x 21.5 cm (mount)
Inscriptions: imprinted on mount c., *B114 RESIDENCE OF MRS. HOPKINS, CALIFORNIA ST. HILL, S.F. / WATKINS' NEW BOUDOIR SERIES YO SEMITE AND PACIFIC COAST, 427 Montgomery Street, San Francisco.*
Coll. James P. Crain

Mark Hopkins, the former Sacramento hardware dealer whose investment in the fledgling Central Pacific Railroad made him one of America's wealthiest men by the early 1870s, acquired the western portion of the block between California, Pine, Mason, and Powell streets from his partner Leland Stanford for a reputed $30,000. His palatial house was designed by the firm of Wright and Sanders, applying a loosely Tudor motif to a rambling composition of turrets, gables, and bays that made Stanford's ornamented palazzo seem austere in comparison.

Hopkins never lived to see the building finished; he died in March 1878 before its completion. The house was only briefly occupied; after the death of her husband Mary Hopkins moved east, and visited San Francisco only occasionally. After her death in 1891 the house and property were bequeathed to her second husband, Edward T. Searles, who in 1893 gave the house to the San Francisco Art Association as the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art (an affiliated college of the University of California). It was destroyed in the great fire of April 1906.

References: Lewis; Belt.

29

30

Carleton Eugene Watkins, photographer
b. Oneonta, N.Y., 1829; d. Napa, Calif., 1916

29. *View of the Baldwin Hotel and Theatre, at the Corner of Market and Powell Streets, San Francisco*
Unmounted albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative
1878 (negative exposed)
8.7 x 14.6 cm (image, top domed), 9.1 x 15.1 cm (sheet)
Inscriptions: inscribed verso in pencil, *Baldwin Hotel / SF / WATKINS' "NEW SERIES" 115*
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, PH1986:0305

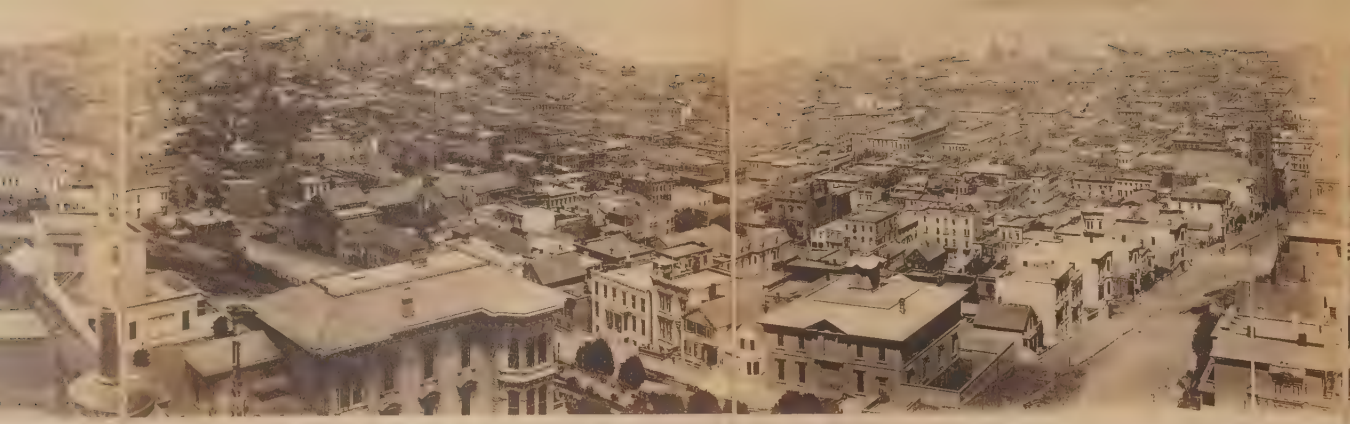
Carleton Eugene Watkins, photographer
b. Oneonta, N.Y., 1829; d. Napa, Calif., 1916

30. *View of Nob Hill from Russian Hill, San Francisco*
Unmounted albumen silver print from a wet-collodion, glass-plate negative
After 1878 (negative exposed)
11.8 x 19.8 cm (image and sheet)
Inscriptions: inscribed verso in pencil u.c., *Jones St., California to Jackson*; inscribed verso in pencil l.c., *North Side, Cal. St., Hill S.F. / "WATKINS" New Series B212*
California Historical Society, San Francisco

The view from the corner of Powell and Market streets, which shows the Hopkins residence under construction (cat. no. 29), and this view of Nob Hill (cat. no. 30) reveal the prominent place that the Hopkins and Stanford houses occupied on the San Francisco skyline, indicating how such houses became important features and points of orientation in the daily life of the city. Other monumental buildings in San Francisco made a visual impression through their sheer bulk (for example the Appraisers' Building and the Baldwin Hotel, both completed in 1877), but until the advent of downtown skyscraper construction in the 1880s none had either sufficient height or a distinctive enough silhouette to create the impression that these private homes at the crest of Nob Hill made upon the urban landscape.

31

33



PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO.

PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO.

PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO.

SAN FRANCISCO.

Eadweard James Muybridge, photographer
b. Kingston-upon-Thames 1830; d. Kingston-upon-Thames 1904

31. *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill*
Quarto album (31.7 x 21.8 cm) of 11 albumen silver prints (overall 18.8 x 228.6 cm, each image approximately 18.8 x 20.7 cm) from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on 11 leaves of buff paper (each leaf 30.3 x 20.6 cm), the leaves backed by a single sheet of linen, accordion-folded
Before 11 July 1877 (negatives exposed)
Dark red pebbed cloth with gilt title (*PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO / FROM / CALIFORNIA ST. HILL / BY / MUYBRIDGE*); album issued with a separately copyrighted photographic key loosely inserted; title, credits, and copyright statement imprinted below view 6 (*MUYBRIDGE, Photo. / Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1877, by EDW. J. MUYBRIDGE, in the office of Librarian of Congress at Washington. / Morse's Gallery. / PANORAMA of SAN FRANCISCO, FROM CALIFORNIA-ST. HILL.*); inscriptions in pencil at head of views 3–8 and 10 and to the right of 11 identifying 12 buildings and sites, each marked by a penciled "X" on the respective print; mounted in a casing of cloth boards, the first sheet laid down on the front paste-down
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, PH1977:0078:001-011

This and the closely related *boudoir*-view version (cat. no. 33) were made from the central tower of the Mark Hopkins residence, at the south-east corner of California and Mason streets. The vantage point was, according to an article in the San Francisco *Alta California* (22 July 1877), "381 feet [116 m] above ordinary high tide." Its extraordinary height above the rest of the city allowed Muybridge to make the unbroken 360-degree panorama that had eluded earlier photographers working in the vicinity such as Charles Weed (see cat. no. 18) and revealed the gradual and piecemeal urban transformation occurring on Nob Hill. This is evident, for instance, in the Porter house, with its carriage house and formal landscaping, facing Powell Street; behind and to the west lay a loose collection of small houses and yards scattered about the rest of the block (see plates 3–4 of the panorama).

The panorama is divided into eleven segments. The first, looking west along California Street, centres on the Crocker and Colton houses (with the newer exclusive residential blocks of Pacific Heights visible in the distance); it establishes the framing elements of the entire panorama. The eleven-part division, however, was not perfectly made and the final (eleventh) view partially overlaps the first. Moreover, the sequence of the prints in the album does not correspond to the order in which their negatives were made. The panorama took Muybridge approximately five hours to complete (see cat. no. 34). He began in late morning with the view towards the south-west (now plate 10 of the panorama) and moved in a clockwise direction (proceeding through plates 11 and 1–9), moving the camera away from the sun. By mid-afternoon when he made his final view (plate 9), the sun had moved 90°. The discrepancies in the lighting between these two contiguous parts of the panorama (plates 9 and 10) apparently went unremarked at the time, but may well have bothered Muybridge.

When Muybridge printed this panorama, he used the negative from the *boudoir* set (cat. no. 33) for the third image. A close comparison of the relevant section of the two panoramas – specifically the lighting and the presence of the laundry – indicates that the negatives for plate 2 of the album and part 3 of the *boudoir*-view set were made within a short time of each other on the same day.

While the specific day when the panorama was made is unknown, a date between 10 June and 3 July is likely, based upon the evidence of shadow dating and other circumstantial activities in the city. The panorama was first announced on 11 July 1877 in the *San Francisco Bulletin* and was more fully described in subsequent articles in the *San Francisco Chronicle* of 14 and 15 July 1877 and in the *Alta California* of 22 July. In September Muybridge circulated a prospectus offering the panorama in two forms, either mounted and bound in an album with the accompanying key (cat. no. 32) for $10.00 or unmounted for $8.00. The panorama was registered at the copyright office in Washington (no. 8225). Judging by the number of surviving copies in public institutions and private collections, this panorama must have been produced in fairly large numbers. The copy at the California Historical Society is inscribed, "Leland Stanford / Compliments of / Muybridge."

References: Mozley 1972, 59–62; Haas, 84–92; Falconer.

Eadweard James Muybridge, photographer
b. Kingston-upon-Thames 1830; d. Kingston-upon-Thames 1904

32. *Panorama of San Francisco, from California Street Hill – Key*
Albumen silver print mounted on paper
11 August 1877 (copyright date)
19.2 x 22.2 cm (image), 20.4 x 30.0 cm (mount)
Inscriptions: imprinted l.l. on mount in black ink, *MUYBRIDGE, Photo., Morse's Gallery,*; imprinted l.r. on mount in black ink, *San Francisco.*; stamped on image and on mount u.l. in blue, *COPYRIGHT / AUG / 11 / 1877*; inscribed within copyright stamp in pencil, *R/9238H*
Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., PH – MUYBRIDGE – NO. 1 (A SIZE)

Although separately copyrighted (on 11 August 1877, no. R/9238H) this key was sold together with the panorama of 1877 (cat. no. 31). By producing a one-page key to his panorama, Muybridge created a portable record of his work that was of obvious use to him in promoting the larger work and in announcing his return to the world of commercial photography after the period spent in Central America following his acquittal from murder.

The *Key* is as deliberately and artfully produced, in its way, as the rest of Muybridge's work. Visually, the three bands of the fragmented panorama present three distinct horizons, and thus each works as an independent pictorial unit. The first is framed in the distance by the central channel of the bay, from its western limit at the Golden Gate to the point where it opens into the long, north-south channel that begins east of Telegraph Hill. The second line encompasses what remained of the old Yerba Buena Cove and, in the distance at right, the hills of Oakland and Berkeley. The bottom image captures the length of the San Francisco peninsula from the distant southerly hills of San Mateo, on the left, to its northern extreme in Pacific Heights, where the bay can be seen once again.

In the centre of the page, dividing the downtown view into two pieces, a textual legend announces both the availability of the panorama at Morse's Gallery and the range of Muybridge's work: "Reproductions of Paintings, Drawings and Art Manufactures; Photographic Illustrations of Alaska, California, Mexico, Central America and the Isthmus of Panama" and "Horses photographed while running or trotting at full speed." Across the bottom stretches the ostensible reason for the piece: a list of the 221 sites enumerated in the photographs. These listings offer the viewer an opportunity to orient himself amidst the vast urban landscape. For potential purchasers of the panorama whose places of business or residence fall within its sweep, the listings also offer a way of appreciating and showing off their position in the city.

In addition to major geographical features like the Golden Gate and Angel Island, Muybridge identifies private residences, businesses, and institutions which by the late 1870s had, as much as the natural landscape itself, given the city its identifiable character. His list features religious and educational institutions, a range of the city's industries (most of them located on the flat land south of Market Street), major governmental and commercial structures, and the homes of some of the city's best-known and wealthiest residents. Where his camera angle allows clear views of entire rows of comfortable residences, as on Bush Street west of Jones (key nos 192–96), or Pine Street west of Mason (key nos 201–11), the photographer has included every homeowner's name in his annotations. The presence of these owners, few of whom had the notoriety of a Leland Stanford, William O'Brien, or James B. Haggin, suggests that Muybridge was as much concerned with marketing his images to interested residents as he was with producing a definitive listing of the city's elite.

References: Falconer, 132–33.

PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO
CALIFORNIA-STREET HILL
KEY.
MUYBRIDGE,
LANDSCAPE, MARINE, ARCHITECTURAL AND ENGINEERING
PHOTOGRAPHER
OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER of the U. S. GOVERNMENT
GRAND PRIZE MEDALIST at the VIENNA EXHIBITION 1873
Reproductions of Paintings, Drawings and Art Manufactures
PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS
Of Alaska, California, Mexico, Central America, and the Isthmus of Panama.
Horses photographed while running or trotting at full speed.
MORSE'S GALLERY, 417 Montgomery Street
Copyright 1877 by Muybridge

MUYBRIDGE, Photo., Morse's Gallery, San Francisco.

32

EADWEARD JAMES MUYBRIDGE, photographer
b. Kingston-upon-Thames 1830; d. Kingston-upon-Thames 1904

33. *Panorama of San Francisco, from California Street Hill*
Set of 11 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on *boudoir* cards
Before 11 July 1877 (negatives exposed)
11.4 x 21.0 cm (each image), 13.3 x 21.5 cm (each card)
Inscriptions: each card consecutively numbered l.l. in ink 1–11; each card imprinted l.l., *Photo. and Copyright 1877, by Muybridge.*; each card imprinted c., *PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO, / From California Street Hill.*; each card imprinted l.r., *Morse's Gallery, 417 Montgomery Street.*; each card with extensive imprinted text on verso (see fig. 38)
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, PH1990:0080:001–011

THIS VERSION OF THE PANORAMA is closely related to the album version of 1877 (cat. no. 31). Both versions were made with the same camera and lens, but the negatives were cropped, printed, and presented differently.

The number and the alignment of ships in the harbour suggest the possibility that all of the negatives for both the *boudoir* set and the album were made on the same day, but judging from the relative length of shadows, at different times. At most, they were made within a few days of one another.

The negative for *boudoir* view 1 was made at a much earlier time than that used for plate 1 of the album, since the sun's rays fall directly on the eastern side of the buildings, whereas in the album they fall on the southern façade. The negative of *boudoir* view 2 was also made at a different time than that of plate 2 of the album, since there is no sign of the laundry lines. The negatives for the third part of both the *boudoir*-view and the album sets apparently were confused. The one that should have appeared in the album was printed and included in the *boudoir*-view set; conversely, the appropriate negative for the *boudoir*-view set was printed and included in the album. *Boudoir* views 4 and 6 and plates 4 and 6 of the album were printed from the same negatives. The negative of *boudoir* view 5 was exposed an hour later than that of plate 5 of the album: the clock on Saint Mary's Church (California Street) shows the time as 2:45 and 1:45 respectively. The negatives of *boudoir* views 7 and 8 were exposed at an earlier time than those of plates 7 and 8 of the album. *Boudoir* views 9, 10, and 11 were made slightly later than plates 9, 10, and 11 of the album.

Since it was a common practice among topographical photographers in the nineteenth century to take more than one negative of each view, it is entirely possible that Muybridge followed this procedure in creating his 1877 panorama. From the entire stock of negatives, he selected ones to make up each of these two panoramas, in some instances using different negatives for a given part and in others the same one. Furthermore, since Muybridge does not refer to the *boudoir*-view version of his panorama in the prospectus of 1877, he apparently conceived and assembled it at a later date.

PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO

FROM CALIFORNIA-ST. HILL.

Copyright, 1877, by MUYBRIDGE.

The photograph of San Francisco, recently made by putting together a succession of views which, taken from a commanding central point, make a complete circuit of the horizon suggests to us that among the many wonderful features of our city, the panoramic character of its topography is not the least deserving of attention, though it has been overlooked, at least by people generally, until Muybridge discovered and utilized its artistic value.

Let us imagine a small ant wishing to get a comprehensive view of a painted Japanese dinner-plate. He would succeed if he could get a thimble upright in the middle of the plate, then climb to the top of the thimble and look by turns in every direction. The ant, in that hypothesis, occupies a position similar to that of the man in San Francisco, which represents the saucer, and the palatial dwelling of Mrs. Mark Hopkins, on California street hill, is the thimble. The rim of the saucer is furnished by various ridges and spurs of the Coast Range, varying in height from 300 to 3800 feet. Starting near the west we see Point Bonita the northern pillar of the Golden Gate, whence there is a gradual rise to the summit of Tamalpais, 15 miles off and 2603 feet above the sea; and beyond that, 40 miles away, we see the ridges between Petaluma and Sonoma, between Sonoma and Napa, and between Napa and Vaca Valleys, and from 15 to 40 miles distant the ridge between the plain along the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay and San Ramon Valley, and above its summit, 30 miles off, appears Mt. Diablo, the culminating peak 3856 feet high, of a more distant ridge; to the southward, eight miles away, is Mt. San Bruno, about 1300 feet high; to the southwestward, three miles off, are the Mission Peaks, 900 feet high, and nearly west is Lone Mountain, 300 feet high. Besides the prominent features visible on the line of the apparent horizon, are a multitude of others less notable below the horizon, including a large part of San Francisco Bay and its entrance, Angel, Alcatraz, Goat and Mission Islands, the Alameda Plain, with its towns, inlets and wharves, the coves, Long Bridges, wharves and shipping of the harbor; Telegraph Hill, 300 feet high, a mile distant to the northeast; Rincon Hill, 120 feet high, a mile off to the southeast; Potrero Hill, South San Francisco Hill, and the Bernal Heights, to the southward, and the Mission Ridge, to the southwestward, all rise up in amphitheatric fashion, so as to permit their houses to see, and be seen. While the farther sides of these hills and ridges are not without their occupants, it may safely be said that the homes of more than a quarter of a million of people within this saucer-like panorama, 50 miles long and 15 wide, are distinctly visible from the corner of California and Mason Streets, 381 feet above ordinary high tide.—*Alta California*, 22 *July*, 1877.

THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE ELEVEN DIVISIONS INTO WHICH THE PANORAMA IS DIVIDED:

1. (Looking West). In the foreground, the residences of D. D. Colton, Charles Crocker and other prominent citizens; the hills bordering the Pacific; and a glimpse of the Golden Gate.
2. Russian Hill; Mount Tamalpais, Saucelito and Richardson Bay in the distance.
3. (Looking North). Meiggs' wharf; Alcatraz Island; Angel Island; Red Rock on the route of the Sacramento River boats; and Contra Costa Hills.
4. Telegraph Hill; St. Francis Church; and Commercial Hotel.
5. The foreground to the left is known as "Chinatown" beyond are the City Hall; Post Office; Custom House; Appraiser's Store; U. S. Courts; St. Mary's Cathedral; the San Rafael, Oakland and S. F. & N. P. R. R. Ferries; Goat Island and the long wharf of the C. P. R. R., at Oakland; Mount Diablo is visible in the distance.
6. (Looking East). To the left (and also to the right of No. 5) are the principal Banks, Insurance Offices, and large mercantile houses; Merchants and Stock Exchanges. In the central portion are the Occidental, Cosmopolitan, Russ and Lick Hotels, Masonic and Odd Fellows' Halls, California Theatre, Club Houses, and Literary and Art Societies. In the vicinity of the bay are the large iron works and manufactories, Sailor's Home and Shot Tower, Grace Church is in the foreground and Oakland in the distance to the left. The palatial residence of Leland Stanford is immediately beneath the point of view.
7. Grand, Palace and Nucleus Hotels, Mission Rock Warehouses, Long Bridge over Mission Bay, Jewish Synagogue, and C. P. and S. P. R. R. Offices.
8. (Looking South). Trinity, Calvarly and First Congregational Churches, Union Square, the Baldwin, U. S. Mint, the Potreros; and Dry Dock in the distance.
9. Mechanics Exhibition Pavilion, New City Hall, the Mission; and San Miguel Hills in the distance.
10. Denman School House, numerous private residences of our wealthy citizens; the Mission Hills in the distance.
11. (Looking West). Lone Mountain, the Cemetries, and the western part of California St. completes the circle.

I also publish a Panorama from the same point of view mounted on cloth, and folded vertically in 14 divisions, each 16 by 24 inches, making an extended view of 20 feet long. Also one in the same style, in 11 divisions making a view 8 feet long, both bound in book form.

MUYBRIDGE,

LANDSCAPE, MARINE, ARCHITECTURAL AND ENGINEERING PHOTOGRAPHER.

Views of the Pacific Coast from Alaska to Panama.

HORSES PHOTOGRAPHED WHILE RUNNING OR TROTTING AT FULL SPEED.

MORSE'S GALLERY, 417 Montgomery Street. SAN FRANCISCO.

Fig. 38 Eadweard Muybridge, *Verso of Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill* (1877). Letterpress on card. 13.3 x 21.5 cm (card). CCA PHI990:0080:001

EADWEARD JAMES MUYBRIDGE, photographer
b. Kingston-upon-Thames 1830; d. Kingston-upon-Thames 1904

34. *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill*
Set of 13 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on 13 leaves of heavy board
Before 8 July 1878 (negatives exposed)
57.3 x 39.9 cm (each image), 68.0 x 50.2 cm (each mount)
Inscriptions: each print consecutively numbered u.l. in pencil, 1–13; each print with copyright sticker affixed l.l., *San Francisco. – Copyright 1877 by Muybridge.*
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, PH1990:0081:001–013
(see foldout at end of book)

MUYBRIDGE MADE THIS 360-DEGREE PANORAMA from the same vantage point as his earlier ones of 1877 (cat. nos 31 and 33): the central tower of the Mark Hopkins residence, at the south-east corner of California and Mason streets. On the verso of Muybridge's *boudoir*-view panorama of 1877 (fig. 38, cat. no. 33), he included the following advertisement: "I also publish a Panorama from the same point of view mounted on cloth, and folded vertically in 14 divisions, each 16 by 24 inches [41 x 61 cm], making an extended view of 20 feet long [6 m]. Also one in the same style, in 11 divisions making a view 8 feet long [2.4 m], both bound in book form." While the second panorama described certainly refers to the album version of 1877, the first one remains something of a mystery. The size of each negative, the overall length, and the fourteen-part division do not correspond to the extant copies of the mammoth-plate panorama of 1878. This discrepancy has given rise to a theory that Muybridge in fact had made an earlier mammoth-plate panorama in the autumn of 1877, but that it and the panoramas of 1877 were destroyed in a fire at Morse's Gallery in the spring of 1878, forcing Muybridge to remake the panorama. If this indeed occurred, no copy of the mammoth-plate panorama of 1877 has survived or been described.

The negatives for the mammoth-plate version that does survive are undated but the evidence within the images themselves suggests a date in late June or early July. The California Street cable car line has been completed and the section of road between Powell and Mason was graded in June 1878. Nicholas Yung removed the house (still visible in the third part) which Crocker had surrounded by the "spite fence" to Broderick Street during the last week of July. As well, Muybridge gave a slide presentation of his recently completed motion studies at the Art Association in San Francisco on the evening of 8 July 1878. The *Alta California* reported the following day that Muybridge had ended his presentation with "a panorama of San Francisco, taken from the tower of the residence of Mrs. Mark Hopkins."

The panorama is divided into thirteen vertical parts, which perfectly divide the 360-degree circumference without incurring the overlapping present in the 1877 panoramas. Unlike the panoramas of 1877, Muybridge shot the negatives (each estimated to be 24 by 20 inches or 61.0 by 50.8 cm) in the same order as they appeared in the final printed panorama. It is thought that he began, working with at least one assistant, at about 10:30 or 11:00 in the morning with the first view looking south-west, and at intervals of between 15 and 25 minutes took each successive view in a clockwise direction, moving the camera away from the sun. The last view would have been made between 3:00 and 4:00 in the afternoon. After the panorama was completed, the seventh plate was remade; unlike the two parts on either side, in which the light falls from the south, the illumination in the seventh part is from the west.

There are nine recorded versions of Muybridge's mammoth-plate panorama of 1878. These are:

1. Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal
This copy differs from all other recorded copies in three respects: each print has been mounted onto a heavy board, is sequentially numbered in pencil, and has a copyright sticker. When this set was acquired, the mounted prints were guarded and bound in an elephant-folio album (68.8 x 52.3 cm) of blind-tooled, dark-red half-morocco and black pebbled cloth boards with gilt title, *PANORAMA / OF / SAN FRANCISCO.* A print of the photographic key (cat. no. 32) was mounted on the front paste-down of the album with a binder's ticket at u.r., *GEBR. SPETZLER / Buchbdr. & Galanteriearbt^r / Augustinergasse 19. / ZURICH.* In this form of presentation, all sense of the panorama was lost and it is possible that the set may have originally been intended as a portfolio of loose prints rather than a bound set.

2. San Francisco Room, San Francisco Public Library
Elephant folio of 13 albumen silver prints mounted on paper, backed by a single sheet of linen, and accordion-folded between covers; black leather cover with gilt title, *PANORAMA / OF / SAN FRANCISCO / FROM / CALIFORNIA STREET HILL / BY / MUYBRIDGE / MRS. Mark Hopkins.* Inscribed in ink on the front paste-down, *Mrs. Mark Hopkins / with compliments of / The Artist. 1878.* Imprinted on first page, below the image, *MUYBRIDGE Photo. Entered According to Act of Congress, in the year 1877. By EDW. J. MUYBRIDGE, in the office of Librarian of Congress at Washington. MORSE'S GALLERY.*

3. Special Collections, Stanford University Library, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.
Elephant folio of 13 albumen silver prints mounted on paper, backed by a single sheet of linen, and accordion-folded between covers; black leather cover with gilt title, *PANORAMA / OF / SAN FRANCISCO / FROM / CALIFORNIA STREET HILL / BY / MUYBRIDGE / MRS. Leland Stanford.* Inscribed in ink on the front paste-down, *Mrs. Leland Stanford / with compliments of / The Artist / 1878.* Imprinted on first page, below the image, *MUYBRIDGE Photo. Entered According to Act of Congress, in the year 1877. By EDW. J. MUYBRIDGE, in the office of Librarian of Congress at Washington. MORSE'S GALLERY.*

4. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
Elephant folio of 13 albumen silver prints mounted on paper, backed by a single sheet of linen, and accordion-folded between covers; burnt sienna leather cover with gilt title, *PANORAMA / OF / SAN FRANCISCO / FROM / CALIFORNIA STREET HILL / BY /*

MUYBRIDGE. Inscribed in ink inside the front cover, *Copyright 1877 by Muybridge / N.T. Smith from his friend, The Artist, May 1881.*

5. Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco
Elephant folio of 13 albumen silver prints mounted on paper, backed by a single sheet of linen, and accordion-folded between covers; red leather cover with black leather panel with gilt title, *PANORAMA / OF / SAN FRANCISCO / FROM / CALIFORNIA STREET HILL / BY / MUYBRIDGE*. Inscribed in ink below the first image l.l., *Copyright – 1877* [crossed out and replaced by *1878* in pencil below] *by Muybridge / Frank Shay / from his friend / The Artist / May 81.*

6. New York Public Library, New York
Set of 13 albumen silver prints mounted on paper, backed by a single sheet of linen, and accordion-folded between paper guards with partially broken loop hangers along the top edge. Inscribed in pencil vertically along the inner edge of the paper guard, facing the first photograph, *Muybridge 7 Ap. 97 $ 25.00*. There are penciled annotations in Muybridge's hand below the images, identifying buildings and landscape features. This copy was acquired by the Astor Library in 1897.

7. New-York Historical Society, New York
Set of 13 albumen silver prints each mounted on linen. Daniel Parish Jr. (1838–1914) purchased this panorama as thirteen unmounted prints from Muybridge on 12 May 1897 on behalf of the New-York Historical Society. In a letter of 13 May 1897 to William Kelby, librarian of the New-York Historical Society, Muybridge suggested that once the photographs were mounted and bound, "you have the names of the principal buildings and places, copied from those I wrote in the copy at the Astor Library." The prints were mounted on linen at a later date.

8. Shaklee Corporation, San Francisco
Set of 13 albumen silver prints mounted on illustration board.

9. Kingston Upon Thames Museum, England
Elephant folio of 13 albumen silver prints mounted on paper, backed by a single sheet of linen, and accordion-folded between covers; black leather cover with leather panel with gilt title, *PANORAMA / OF / SAN FRANCISCO / FROM / CALIFORNIA-STREET HILL / BY / MUYBRIDGE*. This copy was bequeathed to the museum by Muybridge upon his death.

As a final note, in 1990 the American photographer Mark Klett produced a thirteen-part panorama that followed Muybridge's one of 1878 (see fig. 12). The purpose of Klett's re-photography project was not to duplicate the earlier panorama, view for view – indeed, because of changes in the city, this would have been impossible – but to produce a panorama that would acknowledge these changes while still preserving the spirit of Muybridge's conception. Klett made his panorama on 12 April 1990 from 11:40 in the morning to 4:18 in the afternoon. He used twelve or thirteen separate vantage points around the perimeter of the sixteenth floor of the Mark Hopkins Hotel, which now occupies the same site as the former Mark Hopkins residence, matching his views and the time of day as closely as was feasible with Muybridge's. The resulting panorama was published as a portfolio by the Fraenkel Gallery in 1990. A copy of the portfolio is in the collection of the CCA together with two sets of type-55 polaroids that Klett produced in executing the panorama. The first set was made in November 1989 as a preliminary study; the second set was made on 12 April 1990. Since this type of film produces both a negative and a positive print, the positive provided Klett with an immediate proof of the final image; the negatives were used to print the portfolio.

References: Muybridge and Klett; Hales, 78–83, repr. 80–81.

A.L. Bancroft and Company, San Francisco, publisher

35. *Views of San Francisco*
Duodecimo album (8.5 x 13.0 cm) of 17 photolithograph views printed on 3 sheets of buff wove paper joined to form a single strip (7.6 x 209.5 cm) and accordion-folded to form 18 leaves
1880 (publication and copyright)
Views are within white line borders on a pale yellow background; credits imprinted below first and last images are as follows: below first, *From Photo. Copyrighted by E.J. Muybridge*; below last, *Wittemann Bro.s, 45 Murray St. New York, Sole Agents for North America for Louis Glaser's Souvenir Albums. Published & Copyrighted, 1880, by A.L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco*; mounted in a casing of cloth boards, the first leaf laid down on the front paste-down; grey blind-stamped cloth with gilt title, *VIEWS OF SAN FRANCISCO*.
Coll. Marilyn Blaisdell

Of Muybridge's three panoramas of 1877 and 1878, the album version of 1877 (cat. no. 31) became perhaps the most widely known. In 1880, A.L. Bancroft and Company published the souvenir album *Views of San Francisco*. On the first six leaves of this album, a much reduced version of Muybridge's 1877 panorama, entitled *Panoramic View of San Francisco* (6.1 x 67.5 cm) was reproduced as a photolithograph. The panorama is credited to Muybridge. Printed below the panorama were numerous captions identifying various buildings and sites. The remainder of the album contained the following views: "New City Hall [2 images: l., Hall of Records; r., McAllister Street Entrance]; United States Branch Mint; San Francisco Stock Exchange; Nevada Block; Pine Street, West from Sansome Street; California Street, West from Kearn Street; in the Chinese Quarter [2 images: l., Chinese Restaurant; r., Interior of Chinese Restaurant]; the 'Lotta' Fountain; California Street Residences [2 images: l., Residence of Chas. Crocker, esq.; r., Residence of Mrs. Mark Hopkins]; St. Ignatius Church & College; First Congregational Church; Golden Gate Park & Conservatory; The Cliff House & Seal Rocks."

In 1886, C.P. Heininger published his *Historical Souvenir of San Francisco, Cal., With Views of Prominent Buildings, the Bay, Islands, etc.* In this small octavo album, a portion of Muybridge's 1877 panorama, corresponding to plates 3 through 9, was reproduced as a photolithograph (7.3 x 52.2 cm). This uncredited image subsequently appeared in the 1887 and 1888 editions of the *Historical Souvenir of San Francisco* (fig. 39).

Around 1910, Martin Behrman copied Muybridge's 1877 panorama as eleven gelatin silver prints (20.0 x 217.2 cm; copy in the collection of the California Historical Society). Finally, in the 1920s Thomas C. Russell published *Panoramic San Francisco, from California Street, 1877* (12.1 x 145.1 cm). This small octavo album reproduced the panorama as halftones with identifications of prominent buildings and geographical features printed below. The copy of this publication in the collection of Marilyn Blaisdell is inscribed in pencil "C.I. Wheat November 28, 1924 Gift of the Publisher."

Fig. 39 Unknown designer after Eadweard Muybridge, *Panoramic View of San Francisco* (1888). Photolithograph, 7.3 x 52.2 cm (image). Plate 2 from *Historical Souvenir of San Francisco, Cal., with Views of Prominent Buildings, the Bay, Islands, etc.*, C.P. Heininger, 1888. CCA Library

ISAIAH WEST TABER, photographer and publisher
b. New Bedford, Mass., 1830; d. Oakland, Calif., 1912

36. *The Taber Photographic Album*
Folio album (45.0 x 33.4 x 5.1 cm) of 103 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion, glass-plate negatives, mounted on 49 leaves of buff board (each leaf 28.6 x 43.8 cm)
1880 or before (negative exposed), 1880 (publication)
Letterpress dedicatory leaf; each page with lithographed advertising text in a variety of decorative typefaces and with red ruled borders; pages numbered in pencil, 1–98; brown half-morocco gilt, with gilt title and imprint (*THE / Taber / Photographic / Album / OF / Principal Business Houses. / Residences and Persons. / Published by I.W. TABER, Photographer, No. 8 Montgomery Street. / SAN FRANCISCO. / 1880*), all edges gilt, marbled Turkish pattern endpapers; stamped in gilt on lower spine, *D. Hicks & Co. Binders*
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, PH1980:0044:001–103

36.1 *View of F.A. Robbins, Machine Works, No. 7 Front Street, San Francisco*
19.8 x 15.5 cm (image)

36.2 *View of The Thurlow Block, Kearny Street, Between Sutter and Bush Streets, San Francisco*
16.8 x 15.4 cm (image)

THE FOLLOWING NOTE APPEARS on the first page of this album: "In presenting this Photographic Work, Mr. Taber tenders his grateful thanks to the many leading Business Firms of San Francisco for their hearty co-operation and patronage in part defraying the great expense incurred. The book has a gratuitous circulation in the principal Hotels, Steamers, etc. on the Pacific Coast, Eastern States, and adjacent foreign countries." This note indicated the commercial purposes of this privately financed business directory of the city. Each of the 98 pages was presumably paid for by the business or businesses whose advertisement appears on it. On each page, one or more photographs (taken by Taber) of either an individual business or a portion of a city block is reproduced, surrounded by elaborately printed advertisements. The photographs vary considerably in nature, from ones in which the wares of a company are displayed, to views of the façade of a business, with its goods and often employees set out along the sidewalk, to views of a portion of a city block, with the signs of the businesses often retouched for clarity.

The advertisements vary from extended descriptions of services and products offered to brief notices, and they include retail businesses, shipping companies, newspapers, and hotels (the Palace Hotel, for example, taking out three pages of advertising).

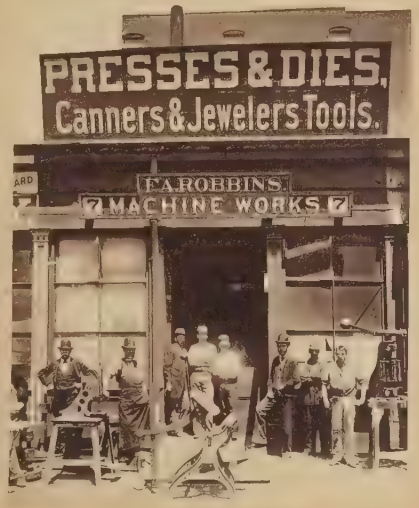
In addition to this copy, there are other copies of this album in the San Francisco Public Library, the J. Paul Getty Museum, and the Bancroft Library (which has two). Each copy varies in the number of pages and in the individual advertisements, suggesting that each one was individually subscribed.

F. A. ROBBINS

Formerly of BLISS & WILLIAMS, N. Y.

MACHINE WORKS.

PRESSES, DIES, Canners' and Shoemakers' Tools, Jewelers' ROLLS, and FINE MACHINERY.



A SPECIALTY MADE OF JEWELERS' and Silversmiths' TOOLS and ROLLS ROUND TO ORDER AND WARRANTED

Machinist and Manufacturer

No. 7 FIRST STREET,

SAN FRANCISCO.

MRS. R. G. LEWIS,

Dressmaking

PARLORS,

Rooms 27 and 28,

THURLOW BLOCK,

Cor. Sutter and Kearny Streets,

San Francisco.

DOANE & HENSHELWOOD,

132 Kearny St.

SAN FRANCISCO,

Silks, Velvets, Dress Goods, HOSIERY, GLOVES,

LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S MERINO UNDERWEAR.

DOMESTIC GOODS, ETC.

Dressmaking ROOMS,

Kearny Street, bet. Sutter and Post

San Francisco

NOTES

HACKETT & DEAN, DENTISTS,

Thurlow Block,

126 Kearny St.

SAN FRANCISCO

SULLIVAN'S,

THE LEADING

CLOAK AND SUIT HOUSE.

THURLOW BLOCK

120 KEARNY STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

36.1–2

UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER
R. J. WATERS AND CO., publisher

37. The Burning City – San Francisco – 10 a.m. April 18, 1906
Unmounted gelatin silver print
18 April 1906 (negative exposed)
22.6 x 133.7 cm (image)
Inscriptions: inscribed in negative l.l. and l.r., *The Burning City – San Francisco – 10 a.m. April 18. 1906*; inscribed in negative l.c. and l.r., *Copyrighted – 1906 – R. J. Waters & Co.*; stamped with key-hole punch l.r., *457*
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, PH1985:0679

THIS PANORAMA WAS MADE from the central tower of the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art (formerly the Mark Hopkins residence) – a view corresponding to plates 7 to 13 of Muybridge's 1878 panorama. According to the label, this panorama was made five hours after the severest earthquake in the history of the Bay area struck San Francisco, at 5:12 a.m. on 18 April 1906. The Institute was subsequently destroyed in the fire.

The view embraces about 120°. In the foreground on the left is the Fairmont Hotel (built by the heirs of Senator James Fair and covering the entire block on which the Emmett and Porter houses had stood), with the southern edge of Telegraph Hill beyond. On the far right can be seen the dome of the City Hall. Other prominent buildings in the scene include (from left to right) the Kohl Building, the Merchants' Exchange and the Mills Building (both designed by Daniel Burnham), the Shreve Building, and the Call Building. These and other steel-frame, curtain-walled skyscrapers visible on the skyline – all of them of fairly recent construction – withstood the twin disasters of earthquake and fire relatively well, and provided an object lesson in the benefits of modern construction techniques when the time came to rebuild the ravaged city.

Most of the buildings of downtown San Francisco did not fare so well, although the cause of their wholesale destruction is a topic that continues to excite controversy. Photographs, with their air of authenticity, became one means of distributing the blame between the earthquake and the massive fires that burned in its wake. In this case, retouching has maximized the apparent size of the fires, while certain earthquake damage (for example, the collapse of the tower of the Hall of Justice on Portsmouth Square) appears to have been carefully hidden. Some historians have suggested that such manipulation was symptomatic of a concerted effort to attribute the destruction of the central city to fire (a preventable event that might occur in any city) rather than earthquake (a more frightening, random natural disaster, the fear of which might seriously hamper the city's ability to attract investors, builders, and residents).

References: Hansen and Condon, 78; Gilbert et al.; Himmelwright.

38

Fig. 40 Unknown photographer for Detroit Publishing Co., *Ruins of the Stanford Residence and of the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, San Francisco, Cal.* (negative exposed 1906). Unmounted gelatin silver print, 17.8 x 22.8 cm (image). Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHER
R. J. WATERS AND CO., publisher

38. *The Ruins of San Francisco*
Unmounted gelatin silver print
1906 (negative exposed)
24.2 x 135.6 cm (image)
Inscriptions: inscribed in negative l.c., *The Ruins of San Francisco / Copyright 1906 by R.J. Waters & Co.*; inscribed in ink l.r., *107*; stamped with key-hole punch l.r., *107*
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, PH1985:0678

THE FIRES THAT FOLLOWED THE EARTHQUAKE burned for three days; together, the twin disasters destroyed virtually the entire city that was recorded in Muybridge's panoramas. The Colton, Crocker, and Stanford residences, as well as the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, were all swept away.

This panorama was made from the ruins of the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, the site from which the burning city had been photographed the day of the disaster (cat. no. 37). It forms a companion piece to that, covering the very same portion of the city. At the left edge is the Fairmont Hotel and at the right are the charred ruins of City Hall. The remains of the Stanford house appear in the left foreground. The towers of St. Mary's and Grace churches can be seen immediately behind the Stanford home and the shell of the Temple Emanu-El is visible at the centre right of the image.

References: Hansen and Condon; Gilbert et al.; Himmelwright.

Bibliography

Aberbach, Alvin. "San Francisco's South of Market District, 1858–1958: The Emergence of a Skid Row." *California Historical Society Quarterly* LII (Fall 1973), 196–223.

Alta California (San Francisco), 1851–78.

Anza, Juan Bautista de, et al. *Anza's California Expeditions*. 5 vols. Ed. Herbert Eugene Bolton. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1930.

Arles, Rencontres internationales de la photographie / Actes Sud. *Panoramas. Photographies, 1850–1950. Collection Bonnemaison*. Exhibition catalogue, 1989.

Atlas of the City and County of San Francisco, From Actual Surveys and Official Records. Philadelphia: Wm. P. Hamphreys and Co., 1876.

Bache, Alexander Dallas. *Report of the Superintendant of the Coast Survey, Showing the Progress of the Survey During the Year 1853*, 33d Congress, 1st sess. Senate Executive Document no. 14. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1854.

———. *Report of the Superintendant of the Coast Survey, Showing the Progress of the Survey During the Year 1857*, 35th Congress, 1st sess. Senate Executive Document no. 33. Washington, D.C.: William A. Harris, 1858.

Baird, Joseph A., Jr. *Time's Wondrous Changes: San Francisco Architecture, 1776–1915*. San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1962.

———. *California's Pictorial Letter Sheets, 1849–1869*. San Francisco: David Magee, 1967.

Baird, Joseph A., Jr., and Edwin C. Evans. *Historic Lithographs of San Francisco*. San Francisco: Burger and Evans, 1972.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *History of California*. 7 vols. San Francisco: The History Company, 1890.

Barry, Theodore Augustus, and Benjamin Adam Patten. *Men and Memories of San Francisco in the Spring of '50*. San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1873.

Barth, Gunther. *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Bayer, Jonathan. "The Panoramic Image in Photography." In *The Panoramic Image*: 29–32. Exhibition catalogue. Southampton: The John Hansard Gallery, 1981.

Belt, Betty C. "The Leland Stanford Home in San Francisco." M.A. thesis, Stanford University, Calif., 1947.

Birt, Rodger C. "Envisioning the City: Photographs in the History of San Francisco." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1985.

Bloomfield, Anne. "The Real Estate Associates: A Land and Housing Developer of the 1870s in San Francisco." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XXXVII: 1 (March 1978), 13–33.

Boruck, Marcus. "The Residence of Leland Stanford." *The Centennial Spirit of The Times* (4 July 1876), 31.

Bowden, Martyn J. "The Dynamics of City Growth: An Historical Geography of the San Francisco Central District, 1850–1931." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1967.

Bucareli, Antonio Maria. "Instructions to be Observed by the Commandant Appointed for the New Establishments of San Diego and Monte Rey" (c. 1767). Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Burke, James. *Charles Meryon Prints and Drawings*. Exhibition catalogue. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1974.

Burns, E. Bradford. *Eadweard Muybridge in Guatemala, 1875. The Photographer as Social Recorder*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.

Burty, Philippe. "L'Œuvre de Charles Meryon." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* XIV (1863), 519–33.

Caddick, James, and Susan Schwartzenberg. "A 360° Daguerreotype Panorama of The City of the Golden Gate." *The Daguerreian Annual 1992*, 104–08.

Capron, Elisha Smith. *History of California, From Its Discovery to the Present Time*. Boston: John P. Jewett, 1854.

Charles D. Carter's Real Estate Circular (San Francisco).

Clark, Joseph G. *Lights and Shadows of a Sailor Life, as Exemplified in Fifteen Years' Experience, Including the More Thrilling Events of the United States Exploring Expedition*. Boston: John Putnam, 1847.

Cook, Sherburne Friend. *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization* (1943). Berkeley: University of California, 1976.

Corbett, Michael. *Splendid Survivors: San Francisco's Downtown Architectural Heritage*. San Francisco: California Living Books, 1979.

Dana, Richard Henry. *Two Years Before the Mast*. New York: Harper and Bros., 1840.

Davidson, George. *The Discovery of San Francisco Bay*. San Francisco: Partridge, 1907.

Deaka, Gloria Gilda. *Picturing America, 1497–1899*. 2 vols. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Delteil, Loys. *Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings of Charles Meryon*. Revised by Harold J.L. Wright. New York: Winfred P. Truesdell, 1924.

Dougall, William H. *Off for California: The Letters, Log, and Sketches of William H. Dougall, Gold Rush Artist*. Ed. Frank M. Stanger. Oakland: Biobooks, 1949.

Edkins, Diana. *Panoramic Photography*. Exhibition catalogue. New York: Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, 1977.

Falconer, Paul A. "Muybridge's Window to the Past: A Wet-Plate View of San Francisco." *California History* LVII:2 (Summer 1978), 130–57.

Forster-Hahn, Françoise. "Marey, Muybridge, and Meissonier: The Study of Movement in Science and Art." In *Eadweard Muybridge: The Stanford Years, 1872–1882*: 84–109. Exhibition catalogue. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Museum of Art, 1972.

Frampton, Hollis. "Eadweard Muybridge: Fragments of a Tesseract." In *Circles of Confusion: Film Photography Video Texts, 1968–1980*: 69–80. Rochester, N.Y.: Visual Studies Workshop Press, 1983.

Fritzsche, Bruno. "San Francisco, 1846–1848: The Coming of the Land Speculator." *California Historical Quarterly* LI (Spring 1972), 17–34.

Gilbert, Grove Karl, et al. *The San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of April 18, 1906, and Their Effects on Structures and Structural Materials*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907.

Gross, Sally L. *Towards an Urban View: The Nineteenth Century American City in Prints*. Exhibition catalogue. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1989.

Haas, Robert. *Muybridge, Man in Motion*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976.

Hales, Peter B. *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839–1915*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984.

Haller, Douglas M. "Watkins' 1864 San Francisco Panorama: An Urban Landscape." Lecture given at the conference "Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer of the American West," held on 4 Feb. 1984, at Oakland Museum, Oakland, Calif.

Handy Block Book of San Francisco, Showing Size of Lots and Blocks and Names of Property Owners. San Francisco: Hicks Judd Co., 1894.

Hansen, Gladys, and Emmet Condon. *Denial of Disaster: The Untold Story and Photographs of the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906*. San Francisco: Cameron and Co., 1989.

Harlow, Neil. *The Maps of San Francisco Bay, from the Spanish Discovery in 1769 to the American Occupation*. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1950.

Harmon, Albert A. "Gold Rush Panoramas: The View from Nob Hill" inserted in "Gold Rush Panoramas, San Francisco – 1850 to 1853." *Sea Letter* II:2–3 (October 1964), n.p.

Harte, Bret. *San Francisco in 1866*. Ed. George R. Stewart and Edwin S. Fussell. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1951.

Hendricks, Gordon. *Eadweard Muybridge: The Father of the Motion Picture*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1975.

Himmelwright, Abraham L. *The San Francisco Earthquake and Fire: A Brief History of the Disaster*. New York: Roebling, 1906.

Hittell, Theodore H. *History of California*. 4 vols. San Francisco: N.J. Stone, 1897.

Hoadley, Milo. *The City Engineer's Communication to the Common Council of San Francisco in Relation to Street Grades*. San Francisco: Commercial Advertiser, 1854.

———. Diary. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Hyde, Ralph. *Panoramania! The Art and Entertainment of the "All-Embracing" View*. Exhibition catalogue. London: Trefoil in Association with Barbican Art Gallery, 1988.

Insurance Maps of San Francisco, California. 2 vols. New York: D.A. Sanborn Co., 1875.

Issel, William, and Robert W. Cherny. *San Francisco, 1865–1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.

Jones, Harry. *Letters from America*. London: Printed for Private Circulation, 1871.

Kirker, Harold. *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century*. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1960.

Klett, Mark. "A Note on Rephotographing the Muybridge Panorama." In Muybridge and Klett 1990: 7–9.

Kurutz, Gary F. "California Books Illustrated with Original Photographs, 1856–1890." *Biblio-Cal. Notes* VII:2 (Summer/Fall 1974), 3–16.

Langley, Henry Grace, ed. *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing June 1859*. San Francisco: Valentine and Co., 1859.

———, ed. *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing September 1862*. San Francisco: Valentine and Co., 1862.

———, ed. *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October 1868*. San Francisco: Bacon and Co, 1868.

———, ed. *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing March 1875*. San Francisco: Ed. H.G. Langley, 1875.

———, ed. *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing February 1878*. San Francisco: Ed. H. G. Langley, 1878.

LAWRENCE, PATRICIA J. "Four Mansions on Nob Hill in the 1870s." M.A. thesis, University of California, Davis, 1976.

LEWIS, OSCAR. *The Big Four. The Story of Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins, and Crocker, and of the Building of the Central Pacific*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1938.

LOTCHIN, ROGER. *San Francisco, 1846–1856: From Hamlet to City*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

MARDER, WILLIAM AND ESTELLE. *Anthony: the Man, the Company, the Cameras*. Pine Ridge Publishing Company, 1982.

MAZZI, FRANCIS J. "Harbingers of the City: Men and Their Monuments in Nineteenth Century San Francisco." *Southern California Quarterly* LV (1973), 141–62.

———. "City from Frontier: Symbols of Urban Development in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco." Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1974.

MCDERMOTT, JOHN F. "Gold Rush Movies." *California Historical Society Quarterly* XXXIII:1 (March 1954), 29–38.

MCDONALD, TERRENCE J. *The Parameters of Urban Fiscal Policy: Socioeconomic Change and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1860–1905*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.

MOUDON, ANNE VERNEZ. *Built for Change: Neighborhood Architecture in San Francisco*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986.

MOZLEY, ANITA VENTURA. "Photographs by Muybridge, 1872–1880." In *Eadweard Muybridge: The Stanford Years, 1872–1882*: 36–83. Exhibition catalogue. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Museum of Art, 1972.

———. Introduction to *Muybridge's Complete Human and Animal Locomotion*, I:vii–xxxviii. New York: Dover, 1979.

———. "The Stanfords and Photography." In *Museum Builders in the West: The Stanfords as Collectors and Patrons of Art, 1870–1906*: 106–24. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Museum of Art, 1980.

MUNSON, DOUG. "The Practice of Wet-plate Photography." In *The Documentary Photograph as a Work of Art: American Photographs, 1800–1876*: 33–38. Exhibition catalogue. Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Gallery, University of Chicago, 1976.

MUYBRIDGE, EADWEARD. *Catalogue of Photographic Views, Illustrating the Yosemite, Mammoth Trees, Geyser Springs, and other remarkable and interesting Scenery of The Far West by Muybridge*. San Francisco: Bradley and Rulofson, 1873.

———. "Helios: The Flying Studio. Photographic Studies. Edw. J. Muybridge, San Francisco." 3 studio albums. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

———. News Cutting Book. Kingston Upon Thames Museum.

MUYBRIDGE, EADWEARD, AND MARK KLETT. *One City / Two Visions: San Francisco Panoramas 1878 and 1990*. San Francisco: Bedford Arts, 1990.

NAEF, WESTON, JAMES N. WOOD, AND THERESE HEYMAN. *Era of Explorations: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860–1865*. New York: Albright-Knox Art Gallery and Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975.

NAGEL, GUNTHER W. "Monument to Elegance, Leland Stanford's Nob Hill Mansion." *The American West* XII:5 (September 1975), 18–25.

NEWHALL, BEAUMONT. *The Daguerreotype in America*. New York: Dover Publications, 1975.

OAKLAND, CALIF., OAKLAND MUSEUM. *Mirror of California: Daguerreotypes*. Exhibition catalogue, 1973.

OETTERMAN, STEPHAN. *Das Panorama. Die Geschichte eines Massenmediens*. Frankfurt am Main: Syndicat, 1980.

O'FARRELL, JASPER. Letter to Edwin Bryant, 6 March 1847. E.P. Jones Papers. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

OPPENHEIM, RAMSEY. *San Francisco, World City*. San Francisco: San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, 1941.

PALMQUIST, PETER E. "Yosemite's First Stereo Photographer, Charles Leander Weed (1824–1903)." *Stereo World* VI:4 (Sept.–Oct. 1979), 4–11.

———. "Charles Leander Weed, California's Peripatetic Photographer." *California History* LVIII:3 (Fall 1979), 194–219.

———. "The Daguerreotype in San Francisco." *History of Photography* IV:3 (July 1980), 207–38.

———. "Robert Vance, Pioneer in Western Landscape Photography." *American West* XVIII:5 (Sept.–Oct. 1981), 22–27.

———. "Taber Reprints of Watkins' Mammoth Plates." *The Photographic Collector* III:2 (Summer 1982), 13–20.

———. "Watkins at Work." *History of Photography* VI:4 (Oct. 1982), 291–325.

———. "Watkins' 'New Series' Stereographs, Part I." *The Photographic Collector* III:4 (Winter 1982–83), 11–21.

———. *Carleton E. Watkins: Photographer of the American West*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press for the Amon Carter Museum, 1983.

———. "Carleton E. Watkins. A Biography. Chapter 1: Oneonta, New York 1829–1851, and, Chapter 2: California 1851–1854." *The Photographic Historian* (Winter 1987–88), 1–18.

———. "Carleton E. Watkins. A Biography. Chapter 3: Shadow Catching in El Dorado 1849–1856." *The Daguerreian Annual 1990*, 167–86.

———. "McIntyre, Sterling C." *The Daguerreian Annual 1990*, 190–93.

———. "Carleton E. Watkins. A Biography. Chapter 4: From Babies to Landscapes 1856–1858." *The Daguerreian Annual 1991*, 225–46.

———. "Robert H. Vance. The Maine and Boston Years (1825–c. 1850)." *The Daguerreian Annual 1991*, 199–216.

PARIS, MUSÉE DE LA MARINE. *Meryon, Charles. Officier de Marine: Peintre-Graveur, 1821–1868*. Exhibition catalogue, 1968.

PETERS, HARRY T. *California on Stone*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1935.

PRIETO, GUILLERMO. *San Francisco in the Seventies: The City as Viewed by a Mexican Political Exile*. Trans. and ed. Edwin S. Morley. San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1938.

Report of Senate Special Committee, Relative to State Land Sales at San Francisco, October 10, 1855. Sacramento: James Allen, 1856.

Reps, John W. *Cities on Stone: Nineteenth Century Lithograph Images of the Urban West*. Exhibition catalogue. Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1976.

———. *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979.

———. *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America*. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1984.

Robin, Ron. *Signs of Change: Urban Iconographies in San Francisco, 1880–1915*. New York: Garland, 1990.

Robinson, Alfred. *Life in California During a Residence of Several Years in that Territory, Comprising a Description of the Country and the Missionary Establishments, 1846*. Reprint ed. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969.

Robinson, J.P. *Report on the Conditions and Requirements of the City Front of San Francisco*. Sacramento: H.S. Crocker and Co., 1859.

Robinson, William W. *Land in California*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948.

Rollins, Lloyd La Paye. "Charles Meryon and His 'Vue De San Francisco'." *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers* IX:2 (June 1932), 97–107.

Rothrock, O.J. "The San Francisco of Alfred Pioche and Charles Meryon." *Princeton University Library Chronicle* (1973), 1–25.

Rykwert, Joseph. *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy, and the Ancient World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Sandweiss, Eric. "Before the Instant City: San Francisco's Hispanic Origins Reconsidered." In *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad: 139–66. Aldershot: Avebury, 1992.

Sandweiss, Martha A. "Undecisive Moments: The Narrative Tradition in Western Photography." In *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Martha A. Sandweiss: 98–129. Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1991.

San Francisco. *In the Matter of the Application for the Confirmation of the Report of the Second Street Commissioners*. San Francisco: E. Bosqui, 1870.

———. *List of Paved Streets and Street Crossings, In the City and County of San Francisco, Accepted to September, 1877, Together With a Series of General Orders of the Board of Supervisors That Apply to the Superintendent of Public Streets*. San Francisco: 1877.

———. *Report of the Board of Engineers Upon the City Grades*. San Francisco: Commercial Advertiser, 1854.

———. *San Francisco Municipal Reports for the Fiscal Year 1859–60*. San Francisco: Towne and Bacon, 1860.

———. *San Francisco Municipal Reports for the Fiscal Year 1868–69*. San Francisco: Cosmopolitan Printing Co., 1869.

———. *San Francisco Municipal Reports for the Fiscal Year 1877–78*. San Francisco: W.M. Hinton and Co., 1878

———. San Francisco Water Tap Records. Special Collections. San Francisco Public Library.

San Francisco, Commission to Enquire into City Property. *Report on the Condition of the Real Estate Within the Limits of the City of San Francisco*. San Francisco: Evening Picayune, 1850.

San Francisco Chronicle, 1885–1902.

San Francisco Real Estate Circular, 1873–78.

Schneiderman, Richard S., and Frank W. Raysor II. *The Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints of Charles Meryon*. London: Garton and Co., 1965.

Schwartz, Joan M. "G.R. Fardon, Photographer of Early Vancouver." *Afterimage* VI:5 (Dec. 1978), 5, 21.

Scott, Mel. *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959.

Sheldon, James L., and Jack Reynolds. *Motion and Document-Sequence and Time: Eadweard Muybridge and Contemporary American Photography*. Exhibition catalogue. Andover, Mass.: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1991.

Sobieszek, Robert. Introduction to *San Francisco in the 1850s: 33 Photographic Views by G.R. Fardon*. New York: Dover, 1977.

Taber, Isaiah W. *Taber Pacific Coast Tourist Guide and Catalogue of Views*. San Francisco: I.W. Taber, n.d.

Taft, Robert. *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839–1939*. New York: MacMillan Company, 1938.

Turrill, Charles B. "An Early California Photographer: C.E. Watkins." *News Notes of California Libraries* XIII:1 (January 1918), 29–37.

Upton, M.G. "The Plan of San Francisco." *The Overland Monthly* (Feb. 1869), 131–37.

U.S. Congress. Senate. *Annual Report of the Superintendant of the Coast Survey, Showing the Progress of the Survey During the Year 1851*. 2 vols. 32d Congress, 1st sess., 1852. Senate Executive Document no. 3.

Vallejo, Mariano Guadalupe. "Documentos para la Historia de California" (n.d.). Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Vance, James E., Jr. *Geography and Urban Evolution in the San Francisco Bay Area*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1964.

Vance, Robert H. *Catalogue of Daguerreotype Panoramic Views in California*. New York: Baker, Godwin, and Company, 1851.

Weinstein, Robert A. "Gold Rush Daguerreotypes." *The American West* IV:3 (August 1967), 33–39, 71–72.

———. "San Francisco, 1851: The Golden City as the Argonauts Saw It ...." *California Historical Society Quarterly* LXXIV:1 (March 1968), 71–73.

Wheeler, Alfred. *Land Titles in San Francisco and the Laws Affecting the Same, With a Synopsis of All Grants and Sales of Land Within the Limits Claimed by the City*. San Francisco: Alta California, 1852.

List of Entries in the Catalogue

1. William M. Eddy. *Map of the City of San Francisco*, 1851 *page* 57
2. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. *City of San Francisco and Its Vicinity, California*, February 1852, 1853 58
3. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. *City of San Francisco and Its Vicinity, California*, 1857 60
4. Frederick Thomas Newbery. *New and Improved Street Map of the City of San Francisco, Cal.*, 1877 62
5. Joseph Britton. *Bird's-Eye View of San Francisco*, July 1852/1853 64
6. Charles B. Gifford. *San Francisco, Bird's-Eye View*, 1 July 1864 66
7. Unknown lithographer. *Key to Robinson and Snow's View of San Francisco*, 1 July 1864 66
8. C.R. Parsons. *The City of San Francisco, Bird's-Eye View from the Bay Looking South-West*, 1878 67
9. Unknown photographer. Partial Panorama of San Francisco, 1851 71
10. Samuel Francis (Frank) Marryat. *San Francisco*, 1 July 1851 74
11. Unknown photographer. *View of San Francisco, 1853*, 1853 74
12. Unknown photographer and lithographer. *San Francisco from California Street, Drawn from a Daguerreotype, the Property of Eug. Delessert Esq.*, 1853 76
13. Unknown designer. *San Francisco, 1854*, 1854 79
14. George Robinson Fardon. *San Francisco Album*, 1856 80
15. George Robinson Fardon. Partial Panorama of San Francisco, May 1855 83
16. Unknown photographer. Partial Panorama of San Francisco, c. May 1855 84
17. Charles Meryon. *San Francisco*, 1856–57 84
18. Charles Leander Weed. Partial Panorama of San Francisco, 1858 or 1859 85
19. Carleton Eugene Watkins. Partial Panorama of San Francisco, 1864 89
20. Carleton Eugene Watkins. *View from California and Powell Streets, San Francisco*, before 1874 92
21. Carleton Eugene Watkins. Partial Panorama of San Francisco, before 1874 93
22. Unknown designer and engraver. *San Francisco, California*, 1874 100
23. Isaiah West Taber. *Gov. Stanford's Residence, San Francisco, Cal.*, after 1878 102
24. Eadweard James Muybridge. Album Documenting the Stanford Residence, San Francisco, 1877–78 103
25. Eadweard James Muybridge. Partial Panorama of San Francisco, 1877 105
26. Carleton Eugene Watkins. *View of San Francisco, from the Grounds of Gov. Stanford, Cal. St., S.F.*, 1877 or later 106
27. Carleton Eugene Watkins. *View from the Residence of Chas. Crocker, Esq., S.F.*, 1877 107
28. Carleton Eugene Watkins. *Residence of Mrs. Hopkins, California St. Hill, S.F.*, 1878 or later 114
29. Carleton Eugene Watkins. *View of the Baldwin Hotel and Theatre, at the Corners of Market and Powell Streets, San Francisco*, 1878 115
30. Carleton Eugene Watkins. *View of Nob Hill from Russian Hill, San Francisco*, after 1878 115
31. Eadweard James Muybridge. *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill*, before 11 July 1877 118
32. Eadweard James Muybridge. *Panorama of San Francisco, from California Street Hill – Key*, 11 August 1877 119
33. Eadweard James Muybridge. *Panorama of San Francisco, from California Street Hill*, before 11 July 1877 120
34. Eadweard James Muybridge. *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill*, before 8 July 1878 122
35. A.L. Bancroft and Company. *Views of San Francisco*, 1880 124
36. Isaiah West Taber. *The Taber Photographic Album*, 1880 126
37. Unknown photographer. *The Burning City – San Francisco – 10 a.m. April 18, 1906*, 18 April 1906 128
38. Unknown photographer. *The Ruins of San Francisco*, 1906 129

This book has been typeset in ITC Berkeley Oldstyle and ITC Goudy Sans and printed on 100 lb. Dulcet from Monadnock Paper Mills, Inc. Five thousand copies – three thousand five hundred in English, one thousand five hundred in French – were initially printed by the Stinehour Press in February of nineteen ninety-three.

Senior Editor: Christine Dufresne
Production Co-ordinator: Denis Hunter
Project Editor: Marie-Josée Arcand
Editor: Edward Tingley
Design: Glenn Goluska
Design Assistant: Nicole Morisset
Photograph Research: Jocelyne Gervais

Eadweard James Muybridge, photographer
b. Kingston-upon-Thames 1830; d. Kingston-upon-Thames 1904

34. *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill*
Set of 13 albumen silver prints from wet-collodion,
glass-plate negatives, mounted on 13 leaves of heavy board
Before 8 July 1878 (negatives exposed)
57.3 x 39.9 cm (each image), 68.0 x 50.2 cm (each mount)
Inscriptions: each print consecutively numbered u.l. in pencil, 1–13;
each print with copyright sticker affixed l.l., *San Francisco. –*
Copyright 1877 by Muybridge.
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, PH1990:0081:001–013
(See cat. no. 34, p. 122)